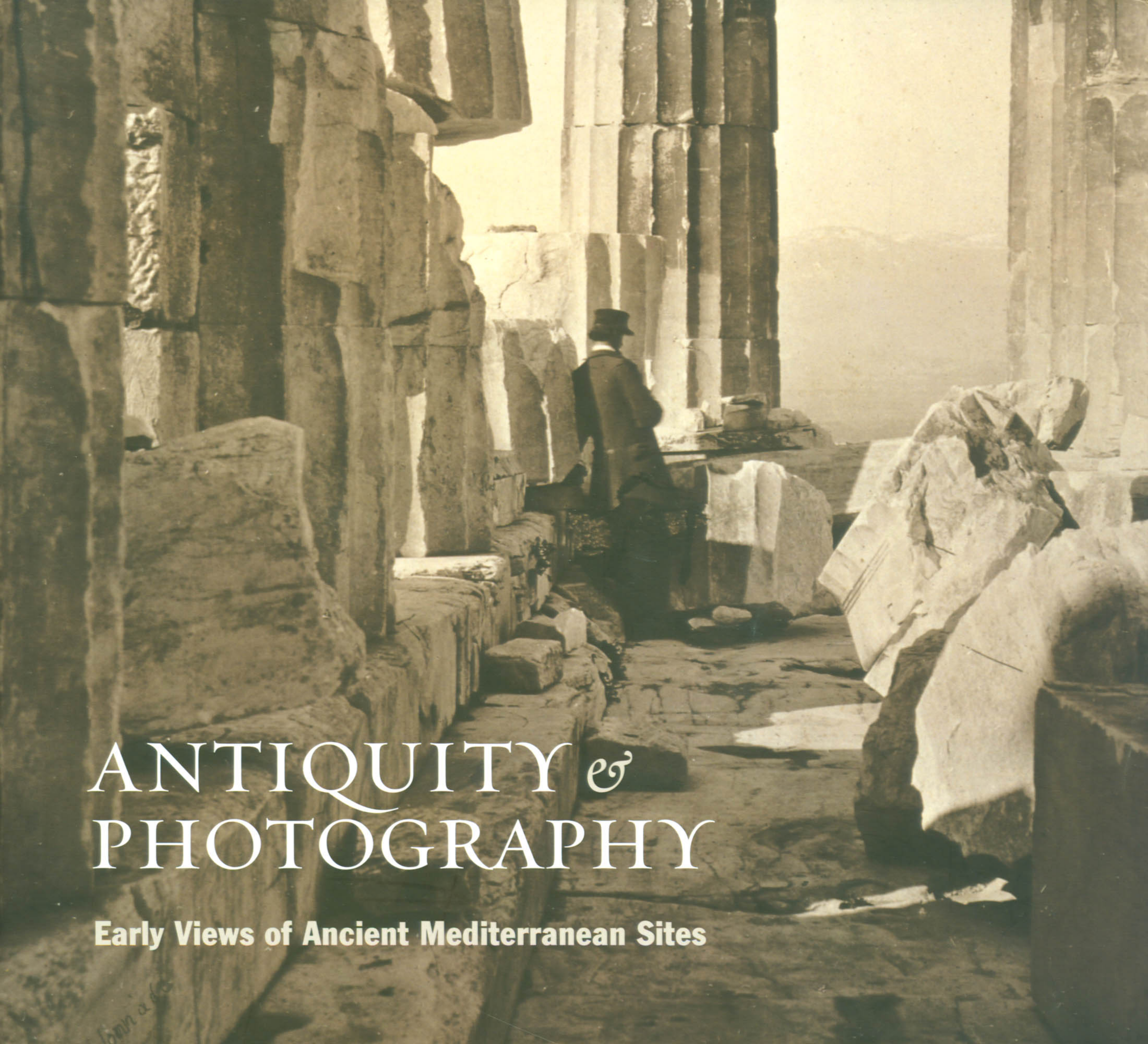


ANTIQUITY & PHOTOGRAPHY

Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites





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Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites





Claire L. Lyons John K. Papadopoulos Lindsey S. Stewart Andrew Szegedy-Maszak

The J. Paul Getty Museum · Los Angeles

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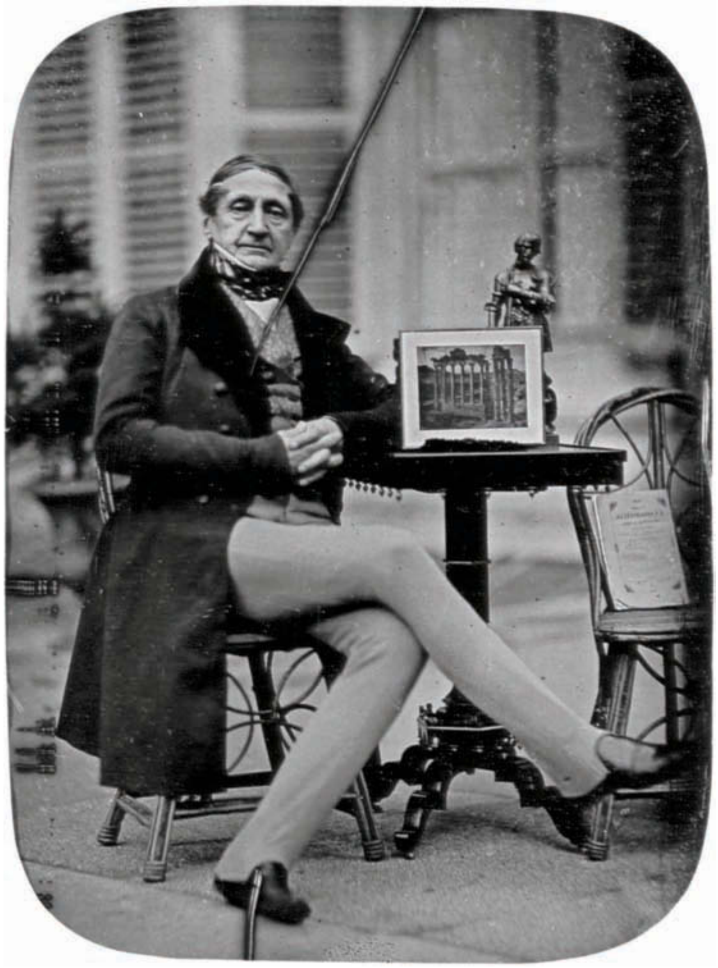
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Abbreviations

attr.	attributed to
b.	born
ca.	circa
cat.	catalogue
cm	centimeter
d.	died
diss.	dissertation
ed.	editor/edited by
edn.	edition
esp.	especially
exh.	exhibition
GB	Gordon Baldwin
GRI	Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
in.	inch
JPGM	The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles
m	meter
repr.	reprint
rev.	revised (by)
trans.	translator/translated by
Univ.	University

In the dimensions, height precedes width.





Foreword

At their first public demonstration in Paris in 1839, photographs seemed nothing short of miraculous in their ability to record a mirror image of actuality. From the moment its inventors promoted the camera's usefulness for documenting Egyptian hieroglyphs, photography has played a decisive role in the interpretation of antiquity. Early photographers focused their lenses on marble-pillared temples, toppled statues, and the exotic foreign panoramas that had long lured travelers to the antique lands. Frequently trained as painters, these pioneers mingled the factual with the lyrical. Their expressive views, seemingly objective windows onto a remote past, were never far removed from contemporary concerns. Early photographs reveal as much about the photographers' sensibilities and the social milieu in which their aesthetic and scientific responses were shaped as it does about antiquity itself.

During the first four decades of the new medium, expeditionary photographers documented groundbreaking archaeological excavations of legendary citadels from Troy to Nubia, places still terra incognita to most Western explorers. Closer to home, the photographers also registered the latest finds to emerge from the multi-layered urban foundations of Rome and Athens. That such remarkable discoveries resonated well beyond scholarly and artistic circles to captivate the wider public imagination is largely due to photographic reproductions. Unparalleled in their accuracy and artistry, photographs were rapidly disseminated among audiences avid to see, rather than merely imagine, history at first hand. The advent of this technical marvel coincided with the evolution of archaeology as a professional discipline and with the growth of museum collections. Photography has consequently had a profound impact on our perception of ancient art and its afterlife.

The present volume accompanies the exhibition that inaugurates the newly renovated Getty Villa in Malibu. The exhibition draws on complementary collections in the Getty Museum's Department of Photographs and in the Research Library of the Getty Research Institute, both of which house significant works by many of the most innovative and accomplished nineteenth-century photographers. Beginning with the first extant images of the Athenian Acropolis, captured in a series of recently rediscovered daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, the exhibition and the essays that follow trace a journey around the Mediterranean in the footsteps of such masters of the "beautiful art" as Maxime Du Camp, Robert Macpherson, and William James Stillman. Their views join a selection of documentary images from the Research Library, where collections relating to the historiography of archaeology are rich in photographs and other visual materials relating to Greece, the Ottoman Empire, and Italy.

The wealth of these resources and their bearing on the Getty Museum's collection of Greek and Roman art offer the perfect opportunity to reconsider classical antiquity through the prism of diverse intellectual traditions. Eloquently depicted in rare photographs, the persistence of the antique is a theme that is central to the mission of the Getty Villa. It encourages viewers to look with unbiased eyes at the artifacts and monuments that have come to be cornerstones of European culture. Beyond the romance—or melancholy

pleasure—inherent in regarding the relics of ancient civilizations, photographs testify to the survival of the past into the modern era. They reveal both physical changes and the shifting cultural meanings antiquity has held in successive times and places.

Antiquity & Photography heralds future cross-boundary Getty publications and exhibitions that aim to explore how the heritage of the ancient Mediterranean world has been continually adapted and revitalized. With its classically inspired architecture in a landscape setting that evokes the Mediterranean, the Getty Villa is the ideal venue for the creative exploration of the classical legacy that is everywhere visible in contemporary culture. Fruitful exchanges among staff and colleagues from different fields of specialization alongside vivid juxtapositions of the collections across a spectrum of media and time frames promise to spark fresh approaches both to antiquity and to the subsequent artistic and cultural contexts in which it lives on.

The essays presented here are the realization of just such a collaborative enterprise, in the best sense of the term. We gratefully acknowledge the exceptional contributions of our outstanding curatorial, design, and publications teams, and most particularly Marion True, Curator of Antiquities and Trust Coordinator for Villa Programs, and Weston Naef, Curator of Photographs, who organized the exhibition and shepherded this publication. We thank the Villa Council for its enthusiastic support of this inaugural exhibition and its companion volume.

William Griswold
Acting Director, The J. Paul Getty Museum

Thomas Crow
Director, Getty Research Institute

Preface

The decision to make early photographs of archaeological sites the subject of the Getty Villa's first special exhibition was natural. Nineteenth-century archaeologists and scholars of ancient art had immediately grasped the enormous potential of photography. Seeing photographs as a form of documentation, scientists envisioned the new medium as a great asset to the study of ancient architecture, artifacts, and languages, while the first photographers to visit ancient Mediterranean sites saw themselves as artists employing a new pencil. Through a series of strategic acquisitions, the Getty Museum Department of Photographs and the Special Collections of the Research Library at the Getty Research Institute together house extraordinary resources that can present the entire early history of photographers' fascination and engagement with the ancient monuments. What better setting in which to display some of the rarest and best examples of photography in dialogue with antiquities than in the newly renovated Getty Villa, now dedicated to the study and preservation of ancient cultures?

Beyond the theoretical and practical aspects, there was a further compelling reason that made these photographs the most appropriate choice for the first exhibition at the Villa. In Malibu, the antiquities of the Mediterranean are far from their original homelands. In our galleries they miss the close associations with the natural landscapes and urban environments that both inspired the ancient artists and craftsmen and provided the materials they worked so confidently. Even the luxurious Roman country-house setting evoked in the Museum's building, which replicates the ancient Villa dei Papiri, cannot compensate for this lack of context. The powerful images captured on the delicate silver surfaces of daguerreotype plates, or imbedded in the fibers of waxed paper negatives, cannot replace the experience of standing on the stony surface of the Athenian Acropolis, of observing firsthand the dense layers of accumulated architectural history in the imperial fora of Rome, or of gazing upon the vast expanse of the Sahara desert that surrounds the Giza plateau. The magnificent views of these sites as recorded by early photographers can, however, strongly evoke the settings where these ancient artifacts were originally created and displayed.

At the heart of this book are several interwoven themes that unfold on vastly different time lines in the accompanying essays. One thread is the creation in metal and stone as long ago as three and a half millennia of objects and monuments and their rediscovery and interpretation in modern times. Another strand starts with the announcement of photography over a century and a half ago and its impact on a variety of artists and amateurs who recognized it as one of the greatest of discoveries. A third theme is the flow of time as a force to be harnessed, and the possibilities photography presented for doing this.

The first public demonstration in Paris by Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre of how to make a picture employing the action of sunlight was greeted with enthusiasm as the first witnesses to the demonstration declared their optimism for the potential of this new means of visual representation. Almost immediately came the recognition that the "pencil of nature" made possible the creation of images that were the product of a unique combination of art and science.

Art and science are likewise combined in archaeology. Soon after Daguerre's first demonstration of his new process, entrepreneurs saw the potential in bringing back from distant lands pictures made with light so that audiences ranging from heads of state to armchair tourists could see ancient sites and monuments as they actually looked, not just as they had previously been represented by a draftsman's or a painter's hand. In fact, as the essays in this volume examine in depth, photographs of the past supported contemporary concerns with cultural and intellectual identity. The early photographs of archaeological sites are today prized for the vision and originality they incorporate as well as for their inherent documentary value.

When the first photographers visited the cultural and historic sites of the ancient Mediterranean starting in the early 1840s, with their large cameras mounted on wooden tripods and the many chemicals necessary to sensitize and develop pictures on the spot, it was not possible to reproduce photographs mechanically. However, since 1900 the development of inexpensive methods of photomechanical reproduction and the broad dissemination of images of antiquity have made these places and monuments familiar, even to those who have never visited them. Photography has forever established places such as the Roman Forum, the Acropolis in Athens, and the pyramids at Giza as destinations of cultural importance.

From the very beginning, the products of camera and chemistry were considered works of art by their makers, two of whom—Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey and William James Stillman—are treated here in depth in two of the essays. The strength and consistency of other pioneer photographers working in ancient places are reflected in this book by portfolios of pictures that display the character of the exhibition that this book accompanies.

This publication and the eponymous exhibition are the results of a wonderfully productive collaboration among three curators: Claire Lyons, Collections Curator at the Getty Research Institute; John Papadopoulos, Professor of Classics and Archaeology at UCLA; and Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, Professor of Classical Studies at Wesleyan University. In addition, Lindsey Stewart, an independent photography consultant, generously contributed her expertise on Girault de Prangey to this volume. The brief biographical texts for the portfolios of photographs were written by Gordon Baldwin, Associate Curator of Photographs at the Getty Museum. In Getty Publications, Benedicte Gilman oversaw the project, Elizabeth Chapin Kahn coordinated production, and Kurt Hauser provided the fine design. Phil Freshman, a freelance consultant, edited the essays in this book, while Kimberly Riback edited the exhibitions material.

We are most grateful to Merrill Lynch, the sponsor of this inaugural exhibition. The Villa Council generously supported the guest curators and the preparation of these essays. Gordon Baldwin and Paul Martineau from the Museum's Department of Photographs; Janet Grossman from the Department of Antiquities; Quincy Houghton, Assistant Director for Exhibition and Public Programs; and Liz Andres, Villa Exhibitions Coordinator, were also essential to the development and realization of this collaborative effort. The team responsible for the beautiful exhibition design included Merritt Price, Debi Van Zyl, Silvina Niepomniszcze, and Julian Wolfart. Bruce Metro and Kevin Marshall and their skilled team of preparators oversaw the installation of the exhibition. It is our hope that this display of early photographs will be just the first in a series of shows that will explore further the close associations between antiquity and photography.

Marion True
Curator of Antiquities, The J. Paul Getty Museum,
and Trust Coordinator for Villa Programs

Weston Naef
Curator of Photographs, The J. Paul Getty Museum




THE PROVINCES
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.
(A.D. 119.)
Roman Miles, 75 to a degree.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000
HISPANIA TARRACONENSIS
OR
HISPANIA CITERIOR
LUSITANIA
HISPANIA
OR BAETICA ULTERIOR
OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
Lucus Augusti
Asturica Augusta
Bracara Augusta
Minius
Durius
Clunia
Caesaraugusta
Iberus
Tagus
Toletum
Emerita Augusta
Anas
Corduba
Baetis
Astigi
Hispalis
Gades
Carthago Nova
Sucro
Pax Julia
Fretum Gaditanum
Burdigala
Garumna
Tolosa
Baeterrae
Narbo Martius
NARBONENSIS
Lugdunum
Vienna
Valentia
Nemausus
Rhodanus
Curia Rhaet.
M. Adulas
ALPES PENNINAE
RHAETIA
Mediolanum
Padus
Genua
Ravenna
Aemona
Savus
Siscia
Dravus
Mursa
Sirmium
Aquincum
DALMATIA
Ancona
ROMA
Tiberis
Arnus
Brundisium
Pyrenaei M.
Balearis
Pityusae Ins.
Corsica
SARDINIA AND CORSICA
Sardinia
Turris Libisonis
SICILIA
Lilybaeum
Agrigentum
Pachynum Pr.
Melita
Tingitana
Babba
Subur
MAURITANIA
Caesariensis
Caesarea
Malva
Mulucha
NUMIDIA
Cirta
Sitifis
Lambasa
Bagradas
Hadrumetum
Leptis parva
Palus Tritonis
Leptis major
AFRICA
Atlas
? Philaenorum Arae



Apulum
Sarmizegetusa
Chersonesus
Taurica
Criu Metopon Pr.
Pontus Euxinus
Caucasus M.
Phasis
Dioscurias
Cyrus
Tomi
Zerna
Ratiaria
Danubius, or Ister
Oescus
MOESIA
Haemus M.
Sinope
Side, or Polemonium
PONTUS POLEMONIACUS
Hebrus
THRACIA
BITHYNIA & PONTUS
Amasia
Lycus
Zela
Halys
Araxes
ARMENIA
Abdera
Byzantium
Propontis
Philippi
Stobi
Pella
MACEDONIA
Sangarius
Ancyra
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
Mazaca, or Caesarea
Archelais
Tyana
Cyzicus
Rhyndacus
Synnada
Antiochia
Hermus
Apamea Cibotus
Apollonias
Faustinopolis
Maeander
Laodicea
Sagalassus
Selge
Aspendus
Perge
Termessus
Tlos
LYCIA
Taurus
Tarsus
Seleucia
CILICIA
Anazarbus
Mopsuestia
Antiochia
COMMAGENE
Samosata Flavia
Osroene
Edessa
Carrhae
Resaena
Chaboras
Nisibis
Singara
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris
Site of Nineveh
ASSYRIA
Euphrates
Ctesiphon
Site of Babylon
Orontes
Palmyra
CYPRUS
Salamis
ACHAIA
Corinthus
Athenae
Malea Pr.
CRETA
Berytus
Tyrus
Ptolemais
Caesarea
Neapolis
Damascus
Bostra
Sebaste
Aelia Capitolina
Palaestina
PHOENICE
SYRIA
ARABIA
Petra
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
Catabathmos magnus
Alexandria
M. Casius
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AEGYPTUS
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Oasis
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INTRODUCTION

Andrew Szegedy-Maszak

Inspired by the exhibition in London of a monumental head from ancient Egypt, Percy Bysshe Shelley composed a famous sonnet on the transient nature of human endeavor. The narrator of "Ozymandias" (1818) tells of meeting "a traveller from an antique land," who had found a massive statue reduced to ruin. Only a truncated pair of legs and a shattered face remained, along with the original inscription, which declared, "My name is Ozymandias, king of kings: / Look upon my works, ye Mighty, and despair!" The poet concludes, "Nothing beside remains. Round the decay / Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare / The lone and level sands stretch far away." Although Shelley wrote his poem two decades before the invention of photography in 1839, it perfectly conveys some of the most enduring impulses underlying photographs of ancient monuments and sites: awe at the sheer magnitude of the remnants combined with bittersweet recognition of mortality.



Photography's Unerring Eye

From the earliest days of photography, its practitioners made their way to Egypt, the Levant, Greece, and Italy. Long before they were identified as nations, these regions on the shores of the Mediterranean projected fascination and influence far beyond their borders. This book and the exhibition it accompanies feature photographs that depict ancient sites and monuments and that were made roughly in the first forty years of the medium. In addition to their visual interest, these views have extensive cultural implications. Because they illustrate those ancient sites that aroused the interest of travelers, they exist at the intersection of history, archaeology, tourism, taste, and pictorial art. As a result, the essays here represent a variety of approaches, but they are linked in their attention to the rich context in which the early photographs were produced.

Utilizing a number of case studies, Claire Lyons examines the parallel growth of archaeology as a scientific discipline and its increasing reliance on photographic documentation. One feature of photographic seeing that proved to be particularly valuable was its panoramic quality, that is, its ability to show how an ancient site fit into its geographical and topographical surroundings. A corollary contribution of photography was its precision in rendering detail. Lyons calls the result "visual mapping," the minute depiction of individual buildings, which scholars could now study as "texts in stone" in order to decipher the relations between architecture, ornament, and cultural values. Whether made at previously unknown sites in the Near East or South America or in much more familiar places such as Rome, photographs soon became indispensable. As Lyons notes, "Today, it is hard to imagine the synthetic study of antiquity without the aid of the photograph."

John Papadopoulos considers some of the conventions that came to govern even the ostensibly objective photography of antiquities and ancient sites. Concentrating on Athens, he addresses both the changes, sometimes dramatic, that affected the monuments and the ways in which photographs record them. In the first part of the nineteenth century, for example, the Athenian Acropolis was covered with numerous small houses dating from the Ottoman occupation of Greece, and the first photographically based illustration of the temple shows the remnants of a small mosque still standing in the cella (see Papadopoulos fig. 8). Archaeologists thereafter tried to uncover the past and, while doing so, to create an overall simulacrum of ancient times; the photographs clearly show how they stripped the Acropolis of virtually all its post-Classical accretions. The result, as Papadopoulos demonstrates, is that the Acropolis is an archaeological site and, at the same time, an artifice — a reminder of a particular nineteenth-century view of Greek antiquity.

The other two essays, by Lindsey Stewart and myself, focus, respectively, on Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804–1892) and William James Stillman (1828–1901), whose careers mark the chronological limits of the pictures in this book and exhibition and exemplify some of its most important concerns. Both men were amateurs, and each brought to his work a remarkably sophisticated sensibility. Girault de Prangey undertook a tour of the Mediterranean in 1842 and made daguerreotypes at many of the places he visited. As Stewart shows, he was a man of wide learning and passionate enthusiasms. His interest in architecture took him to the conventional venues in Athens and Rome and even in Egypt (discussed below) and on to the farther reaches of the Near East. He is the first photographer we know to have made pictures at Baalbek, the great imperial Roman settlement in Lebanon, where he worked at a feverish pace, producing more than a hundred successful daguerreotypes (fig. 1). One curiosity of Girault de Prangey's views is that, like all the earliest daguerreotypes, they are laterally reversed. One can see the phenomenon quite clearly if one compares Stewart figure 9 (reversed) with Papadopoulos figure 12 ("correct" albumen



Figure 1. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *Baalbec. 1844. T[emple] circulaire. Det.[ail] Inté[rieur]* (Baalbek, Circular temple, interior detail), 1844. Daguerreotype, 18.9 × 24.1 cm (7⅜ × 9½ in.). JPGM 2003.82.6.



Figure 2. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885), Interior of the Temple of Bacchus, Baalbek, ca. 1860s–1870s. Albumen silver print, 22 × 28 cm (8 15/16 × 11 1/16 in.). GRI 88.R.8, Box 46 (M6.L4.3).

print), and Stewart figure 10 (reversed) with Szegedy-Maszak figure 18 ("correct" carbon print). Eventually photographers invented a means to fix the problem.

So near the dawn of photography, Girault de Prangey had as aesthetic models the draftsmen and printmakers who preceded him, yet his pictures reveal that he had a remarkable understanding of some of photography's distinctive characteristics. As Stewart writes, his "contribution now occupies a unique position, bridging a gap between the finely executed architectural drawings of previous centuries and the photography of later generations." Indeed within a short time after Girault de Prangey's visit, travel to Baalbek had become somewhat easier; a skillful and prolific commercial photographer such as Félix Bonfils (1831–1885) found there a site that offered a rich assortment of views for his clientele of foreign travelers (fig. 2).

My essay considers another brilliant amateur, the American William James Stillman. His career encompassed painting, writing, archaeology, diplomacy, and photography. He knew many of the most important European and American artists and intellectuals of the mid-nineteenth century, most notably John Ruskin. He photographed the renowned monuments of the Athenian Acropolis in 1869 and, the following year, published a volume of twenty-five views entitled *The Acropolis of Athens Illustrated Picturesquely and Architecturally in Photography*. Unlike Girault de Prangey, Stillman had an extensive tradition of photography, both personal and commercial, to which he could refer. In that light, his originality becomes all the more impressive. The individual pictures explore unexpected angles and points of view. I argue that Stillman composed them with the double aim of demonstrating technical refinements of ancient artistry and construction and, more broadly, of expressing his idealization of ancient Athens. I contend, more speculatively, that he intended the album as a whole to be read in sequence like a narrative, or even an allegory, of what he saw as the uniquely Greek amalgam of artistic excellence and democratic freedom.



Figure 3. Maxime Du Camp (French, 1822–1894), Giza and the Sphinx, Egypt, 1850.
Salted paper print, 15.2 × 21.3 cm (6 × 8⅜ in.). JPGM 84.XO.1303.1.11.

EVEN THE ETHNOCENTRIC ANCIENT GREEKS recognized that Egypt was home to a civilization much older and in many ways more sophisticated than their own. Herodotos devotes an entire book of his *Persian Wars* to Egypt, After discussing the Nile, he continues, "About Egypt I shall have a great deal more to relate because of the number of remarkable things the country contains and because of the fact that more monuments that beggar the imagination are to be found there than anywhere else in the world."[1] If we leap over two millennia to Paris in January 1839, we find the renowned scientist François Arago announcing the invention of photography to the Académie des Sciences. He declares that one of the most promising applications of this miraculous new technology will be the precise copying of antiquities, specifically the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Within a few months of Arago's announcement, photographic expeditions had made their way to Egypt with the express purpose of recording the antiquities; the painter Horace Vernet joined one of these excursions and wrote excitedly, "We are daguerreotyping like lions!" Without wanting to press the point too hard, we can note the metaphor of predation.

Herodotos's wonder at what the ancient Egyptians had built seems to have survived undiminished to the nineteenth century. Egypt's vast desert and vaster sky, its people who appeared to be leading lives unchanged from those of their distant ancestors, and its massive, mysterious ruins all combined to create an effect that was close to intoxicating.

Before photography was invented, those who were interested in the visual aspects of far-away places had either to go to those places or to content themselves with artists' renderings. No matter how accurate, paintings, drawings, and prints are always acknowledged as interpretations shaped by the artist's hand and eye. A photograph, on the other hand, was initially thought to offer a direct, unmediated slice of reality. The earliest book with illustrations based on photographs, *Excursions daguerriennes*, was published in Paris in 1842. Its subtitle promises views of "the most remarkable monuments in the world," and, not surprisingly, several of the images included are from Egypt.

We are fortunate that one of the greatest early photographers of Egypt was accompanied on his trip by one of the greatest writers of that time. The photographs and notes that Maxime Du Camp (1822–1894) and Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880) made on their tour of the Near East from 1849 to 1851 convey a vivid sense of the power that Egyptian antiquities had over the nineteenth-century imagination.[2] Du Camp minces no words about the difficulties he faced: "If, some day, my soul is condemned to eternal damnation, it will be in punishment for the rage, the fury, the vexation of all kinds caused me by my photography." The chemicals boiled in the intense heat, sand got into everything, and occasionally a bucking mule or bolting camel would come close to destroying all the photographic equipment. Other nineteenth-century travel photographers, such as those in America's desert Southwest, had to deal with similar hardships, yet almost all of them seem to have been strengthened by a sense of mission.

Despite the roistering good times he and Flaubert had enjoyed, Du Camp had been working under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Education, and his purposes were largely scholarly and scientific. In Egypt they found inspiration in the monuments. "We stop before the Sphinx," Flaubert writes, immediately noting that "it fixes us with a terrifying stare; Max is quite pale; I am afraid of becoming giddy, and try to control my emotion." Du Camp concurs, "I cannot remember ever having been moved so deeply." Yet he was not so moved as to neglect his project, and he made several studies of the massive stone figure. In a letter to a friend, Flaubert writes, "No drawing I have seen conveys a proper idea of [the Sphinx]—best is an excellent photograph that Max has taken." Du Camp typically favored a straightforward view and did not strive for unusual angles or dramatic chiaroscuro. What gives his photograph of the Sphinx its power is its seemingly uninflected factuality (fig. 3).



Figure 4. Francis Frith (British, 1822–1898), *Fallen Colossus, Ramasseum, Thebes*, 1858. Albumen silver print, 22 × 28 cm (8⅝ × 11 in.). JPGM 84.XO.434.4.

Today we can appreciate all the choices Du Camp made in terms of framing, distance, and scale. We can also locate this picture in his oeuvre and the photographer himself in the history of the medium. For the nineteenth-century viewer, however, this image and others like it carried the special fascination of literalism. Photographs had an overwhelming advantage over drawings, as Flaubert implies, precisely because they seemed to be direct transcriptions from nature.

Du Camp brought 214 negatives back to France, 125 of which he selected for the lavish volume *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie*, published in 1852 in an edition of two hundred copies.[3] As Claire Lyons shows in her essay, from the beginning the pursuits of science were alloyed with the lure of the spectacular. Du Camp's intended audience was composed of scholars, but there existed a much wider community of travelers, both actual and armchair, who also wanted the extraordinary new pictures from Egypt. A British photographer, Francis Frith (1822–1898), was ready to supply them. Having made his fortune as a wholesale grocer, he turned to photography and went to Egypt in 1856, returning twice over the next several years to make more photographs.

On his trips to Egypt, Frith produced work that ranged from magnificent sixteen-by-twenty-inch mammoth-plate images to ones of much more modest size, such as stereograph cards. Using the wet-collodion process — in which a syrupy emulsion was poured onto the glass plate immediately before exposure — he obtained pictures of startling clarity and precision. His remarkable study of the *Fallen Colossus, Ramasseum, Thebes* (fig. 4) could easily illustrate Shelley's "Ozymandias," for the humans, and even the camel, are tiny by comparison with the enormous wreckage of the pharaoh's statue.[4] The image is revealing in other ways, too, as it shows a party of western tourists, which includes a woman decorously sitting sidesaddle on a donkey, accompanied by their Egyptian guides. Playing up the wealth of detail in the image, Frith's caption adds a censorious note: "On the right shoulder of the colossus is the prenomen of Ramses II. On the head may be seen the barbarous inscriptions of modern travelers — instance of a mania as reprehensible as it is childish."[5]

Both the presence of westerners and Frith's criticism of "modern travellers" show that such photographs are part of a complex set of phenomena. In the mid-nineteenth century middle-class travel was undergoing a huge expansion, facilitated in part by advances in transportation, such as the large-capacity steamship and the railway. Alongside such mechanical developments there arose an extensive array of support services: travel agencies, hotels and restaurants, guide companies, and guidebook publishers. Photographs such as Frith's of Egypt likewise played a crucial role, in that they helped make exotic, distant places appear familiar and welcoming.

Eventually, Frith made another fortune after founding a large-scale commercial studio that specialized in travel views. "Frith of Reigate" produced thousands of beautifully composed, finely printed photographs of famous places. As such locales became more accessible, each of them gradually joined a more or less predictable itinerary for visitors. To have seen certain sites and monuments became virtually obligatory. From Egypt, for example, we find numerous (and often almost identical) views and narrative accounts of the Sphinx, the pyramids, the colossal statues at Abu Simbel and Thebes, and the temples at Philae and Karnak. One could extend or modify this list or create a similar catalogue for any major destination. Of course, all travelers feel that they make their own individual selections, and pride themselves on the singularity of their experiences, but the general principle is clear.



Phot. Dusacq et C^{ie}. Imp^{ie} F. Chardon aîné 30 r. Hautefeuille Paris. Appert sc.

L'ACROPOLIS A ATHÈNES.

Greece

Like Egypt, Greece attracted some of the very earliest practitioners of photography, and they went directly to the most famous city, Athens, and its most renowned ruins. One view from *Excursions daguerriennes* (1842) is entitled *The Acropolis of Athens*, even though the Acropolis is visible only in the far distance, dwarfed by the massive columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus (fig. 5). At that time, when the medium was in its infancy, writers frequently alluded to the evocative power of the photographic image, to which long habituation has dulled our response. The caption writer describes the effect of this picture as "mournful and imposing," due to the evidence it provides of the destruction that has occurred over time. Yet, he adds, the image also serves to evoke "the wealth, the imagination, and the piety of the Athenians." It may be difficult now to imagine how this little grayish picture—only six by eight inches—could support so much metaphorical and emotional weight. Nonetheless, there survive enough similar comments from contemporary reviews and essays to indicate that the original viewers really did respond strongly to such images, or at least felt that they should.

Figure 5.
The Acropolis of Athens. Aquatint by Appert of 1842 after a daguerreotype by Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière of 1839. From Noël-Marie-Paymal Lerebours, *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris, 1842), 15.2 × 20.3 cm (6 × 8 in.). GRI 92.R.84, Box 1 (01.01).

The fact that the original daguerreotype was converted into an aquatint and so lost some of its freshness may diminish our appreciation of the picture from *Excursions daguerriennes*. Fortunately, however, some of the earliest true photographs from Athens have come down to us, including those by Girault de Prangey, who, as noted above, visited the city during his Mediterranean tour in 1842. His whole-plate daguerreotype of the Parthenon, for example, conveys some of the thrill of discovery that the new medium brought with it (see Stewart fig. 7). "You will see with pleasure the use I have made of the practical instrument invented by Daguerre," Girault de Prangey proudly wrote to a friend. "In a variety of circumstances I have captured, often with complete success, several bas-reliefs and statues from the Acropolis, many fragments and some complete monuments from Athens and Rome. . . . I find myself so close to monuments that it would be so important to possess with total accuracy."[6]

Instead of the standard view of the western facade, the photograph depicts the more dilapidated north side of the temple. As Lindsey Stewart observes, the picture is noteworthy in that it shows the temple before it had undergone extensive renovation. Alongside the ancient marble columns stands a portion of rough wooden scaffolding, evidence of the reconstruction process. By contrast with photographs made today, "There is considerably less of the colonnade visible in this view, and considerably more of the building is lying in the mounds of rubble below."[7] Fully exploiting the daguerreotype's almost hallucinatory wealth of detail, Girault de Prangey seems to have intuited the relation between the status of the photograph as a fragment from the real world and the fact that the Parthenon had itself become an assemblage of fragments.

As in Egypt, both the photographers and the foreign travelers who bought their photographs had settled on a limited cluster of monuments to represent an entire civilization. The Greeks themselves were quick to adopt photography and apply it to their own cultural treasures. The earliest Greek photographer was Philippos Margaritis (1810–1892), who studied painting in Rome and seems to have learned how to make daguerreotypes from another Frenchman visiting Athens, Philibert Perraud (b. 1815).[8] It seems almost certain that Margaritis and Perraud collaborated in 1847 on a set of eleven daguerreotype views of the monuments on the Acropolis. Although their pictures are not so impressive as Girault de Prangey's, they are important because they clearly demonstrate that the very first decade of photography's existence saw the establishment of a canonical set of Athenian views.[9] Visitors found their itinerary greatly simplified by the fact that virtually all the most significant ruins are located on or immediately adjacent to the Acropolis.

Needless to say, the Parthenon, boasting illustrious associations with Pericles and the Athenian "Golden Age," was by far the most revered—and most photographed—of the ancient structures.[10] It was invariably the visitor's principal destination.

So, for example, the Baedeker guidebook from 1881 declares that the Parthenon is "the most perfect monument of ancient art. [It] occupies the culminating point of the Acropolis, towering above all its neighbors. It excelled all the other buildings of ancient Athens... and even in its ruins presents an imposing and soul-stirring spectacle."[11] This brief quotation suggests some of the temple's metaphorical associations, particularly commingled pathos and grandeur, stemming from the fact of survival where others have fallen. In addition, as the Baedeker quotation suggests, the Parthenon exemplified the overwhelming tendency in the nineteenth century to identify Greece solely with antiquity, and antiquity solely with the Periclean age.

Though not so eminent as the Parthenon, the other monuments on the Acropolis shared its high-Classical pedigree. Sometimes photographers such as Petros Moraites (ca. 1835–1905) crafted comprehensive views that included the Propylaia, the great ceremonial entryway, and the Erechtheion, a complex, multilevel temple that housed shrines to several deities (see Papadopoulos fig. 12). Also visible in Moraites's picture are the dome of a medieval cistern and the so-called Frankish Tower, actually part of a late-medieval fortification built into the southwest corner of the Propylaia.[12] As John Papadopoulos observes, their presence is a reminder of the historical vicissitudes that had, over the centuries, altered the landscape on the Acropolis and gradually transformed it from a sacred precinct into an archaeological site.

Today it is almost impossible, at least for an amateur, to take a photograph on the Acropolis without including crowds of tourists. By contrast, many nineteenth-century pictures from Athens show very few people, if any at all.[13] The dearth of figures was not due to any restrictions imposed by early photographic technology, such as long exposure times. Rather, it was a deliberate choice by the photographers, whose foreign clients welcomed the fact that Athens was such a small city and that the countryside around it was sparsely populated. *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (1854) declares, "The traveller is, as it were, left alone with antiquity, and Hellas tells her own ancient history with complete distinction."[14] Many foreigners, steeped in Classical history and literature, fancied that they could forge a direct connection with the past. The photographers, in turn, strove to remove from their pictures any unseemly intrusion from the present day that might disrupt the viewer's contemplation of the ancient world. Such free play of the imagination, however, also has a less celebratory aspect. It means that the modern residents of the country are often kept out of sight.

The audience for commercial photographs of Greece generally preferred the figures in the Greek landscape to take the form of ancient sculpture. Much of the Parthenon's sculptural decoration had been damaged or destroyed by the explosion in 1687 that shattered the temple, and in 1801 Lord Elgin had carried off much of what had survived that catastrophe. The Erechtheion, however, had retained its famous porch of the Maidens. With their graceful blend of delicacy and strength, the Caryatids, as they are called, had long been favorites among tourists, artists, and photographers. An image by the Athenian photographer Dimitrios Constantin (active 1858–1860s) depicts the porch in a dramatic raking light that brings out the carefully wrought folds of drapery as well as the slight differences in face and posture that make each statue unique (fig. 6).[15] In addition, it clearly shows the new section of entablature above the replica that replaced the one Caryatid that Lord Elgin had removed to London. Sitting next to the base of the porch is a dapper young man holding a sketchpad on his knee. Judging from the angle of his gaze, we can be virtually certain that this gentleman was drawing the Parthenon. Constantin's photograph thereby recalls an older form of image making, when travelers themselves drew the scenes they wished to remember. In fact, photography, drawing, and travel share a deep historical connection. In the early 1830s it was frustration with his own inability to draw a view of Lake Como that prompted William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), one of the inventors of photography, to press on with his experiments in fixing an image on paper with a lens, chemicals, and sunlight.



Figure 6. Dimitrios Constantin (Greek, active 1858–1860s), *Caryatid Porch, Erechtheion, Athens*, 1865. Albumen silver print, 22 × 28 cm (8⅝ × 11 in.). JPGM 84.XM.366.8.



Figure 7. Robert Macpherson (Scottish, 1811–1872), *The Colosseum, Rome*, late 1850s. Albumen silver print, 24.6 × 39.4 cm (9 11/16 × 15 1/2 in.). JPGM 84.XO.1378.9.

Italy

In the decades after Talbot and Daguerre, photographs flooded into western Europe and the United States from all over the world. Numerous, rapid advances in technology—wet collodion, dry collodion, albumen prints, stereographs, carbon prints, photogravures—all fed the seemingly inexhaustible demand for images of other places. Unlike Egypt and Greece, Rome had remained on the beaten track of western European travelers, and it had been the final stop, the culmination, of the eighteenth-century grand tour.[16] Many visitors had written about their experiences there, and views of its ancient monuments, in the form of etched or engraved *vedute*, were widely distributed. As a result, nineteenth-century visitors brought with them a sense of familiarity that was absent from Egypt and Greece.

Rome was also a much larger city than Athens, its monuments dispersed throughout the urban landscape rather than clustered in a single central location. Most travelers had as their primary destination the Colosseum and the area adjacent to it that encompasses the Forum and the Arches of Titus and Constantine. Both foreigners and Italians soon established commercial photographic studios producing pictures of the antiquities, and most of their clients, like those of Frith and Constantin, were tourists.

Among the most accomplished of the early photographers in Rome was the Scottish-born Robert Macpherson (1811–1872), who had originally studied to be a surgeon. His interests turned to art, and he moved to Rome. There he was a journalist, painter, and occasional art dealer until 1851, when he took up photography as a way to support his family.[17] In an 1853 letter, the famous American sculptor and author William Wetmore Story noted, "Macpherson has betaken himself to photography and is eminently successful."[18] He eventually compiled a catalogue of more than four hundred photographs taken in and around the city, available by post in different sizes, concisely identified by number and title for ease of ordering.[19] Both technically and aesthetically, Macpherson's photographs are superb, and he enjoyed a reputation that still endures as one of the finest photographers in Rome, indeed one of the finest architectural photographers in the history of the medium.

The triumphal arch and the amphitheater are uniquely Roman contributions to urban architecture. At some time in the late 1850s, Macpherson made one of several views of the Colosseum and its setting, including a corner of the Arch of Titus (fig. 7). Here the great oval arena dominates the landscape. This was another ancient monument whose size alone was enough to elicit wonder among modern visitors. As Charles Dickens put it, "[I]t tops the other ruins, standing there, a mountain among graves."[20] Over the centuries the Colosseum had suffered extensive damage, largely because it served as a quarry for thousands of tons of precut stone. Perhaps ironically, much of Saint Peter's Basilica incorporates stones from the Colosseum, as do numerous other churches and private residences in the city. Like the Sphinx and the Parthenon, the Colosseum had come to possess an aura of battered grandeur that only added to its allure. George Hillard, author of a popular mid-nineteenth-century guidebook to Italy, summed up the prevailing opinion: "If as a building the Coliseum was open to criticism, as a ruin it is perfect. The work of decay has stopped at the exact point required by taste and sentiment."[21] Just as Greek civilization was construed as the Athenian "Golden Age," so Roman history was compressed into the Late Republic and Early Empire. Just as the Parthenon had come to represent Greek civilization as a whole, so the Colosseum became the emblem for Roman antiquity.[22] Photographs of the building, like Macpherson's, generally depict its most ruined side, where the upper arcades had been destroyed, leaving an evocatively uneven silhouette. One could hardly ask for a more effective visual metaphor for "decline and fall." Once again what we are seeing is not a disinterested, objective view of the ancient site but an image that has been carefully constructed to convey a particular interpretation of an ancient culture.

Many of the early Italian photographers in Rome had begun their careers producing *vedute* for the tourist trade; among the most proficient of these former printmakers was Tommaso Cuccioni (1790–1864).[23] He began his photographic career at almost exactly the same time as Macpherson and, like the Scotsman, established what became a flourishing commercial studio.[24] We have noted the attraction exerted by the grand buildings of antiquity, but there were also smaller structures whose charm appealed to travelers. At some remove from the central area around the Colosseum and the Forum, on the banks of the Tiber, stands a small circular structure that in the nineteenth century was commonly known as the Temple of Vesta (fig. 8).[25] It is tucked into Piazza della Bocca della Verità, close to an eighteenth-century Baroque fountain whose sinuous lines complement the temple's vertical simplicity. The building has survived nearly intact; nineteen of its original twenty marble columns remain. Its location away from the major thoroughfares and commercial activity added to the visitors' gratifying sense that they were seeing what the ancient Romans had seen. The only discordant note was the modern roof, to which many travelers strenuously objected, precisely because it was not antique. So, for example, George Hillard praised the gracefulness of the temple but added that, "a very ugly roof of red tiles is crushed down directly on the capitals of the columns."[26] A few foreigners dissented from the general disparagement, notably the English expatriate and guidebook author Augustus J. C. Hare. "The modern overhanging roof has been much objected to," he wrote, "but artists admire the exquisite play of light and shadow caused by its rugged tiles and, finding it a perfect 'subject,' wish for no change."[27] Girault de Prangey was one such artist. His daguerreotype view of the Temple of Vesta roof is an elegant formal study in shape and texture (see Stewart fig. 3). Like his picture of the Parthenon, it is made from an unusual point of view. It, too, demonstrates a photograph's ability to isolate a detail from a larger entity and thereby to endow it with significance.

"[T]he artist is inevitably at odds with the archaeologist," contends the modern writer Christopher Woodward. "In the latter discipline," he explains, "the scattered fragments of stone are . . . clues to a puzzle to which there is only one answer, as in a science laboratory; to the artist, by contrast, any answer which is imaginative is correct."[28] The opposition, though neatly phrased, is somewhat misleading. Scholars almost never agree on a single solution to an archaeological mystery; what solutions there are, moreover, do not remain static but evolve, under the influence of additional discoveries or new interpretive techniques. The photographs I have briefly discussed here are not, and were never intended to be, scholarly records of archaeological work. Nor, as works of art, are they at odds with archaeology, as Woodward might claim. At the very least, they provide some valuable information about the state of preservation of the monuments over a century ago. For us, the photographs themselves have acquired the patina of antiquity. Because they are both art and evidence, they can brighten our imaginations and cast light on a past, whether defined by centuries or millennia, that grows ever more distant.



Figure 8. Tommaso Cuccioni (Italian, 1790–1864), Temple of Vesta, Rome, 1850–1859. Albumen silver print, 22 × 28 cm (8⅝ × 11 in.). JPGM 84.XM.636.4.





THE ART AND SCIENCE OF ANTIQUITY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHY

Claire L. Lyons

Archaeology, like photography, is both art and science, a journey through time that arrests history in incremental moments. Close allies, each made major contributions to the other during their formative period. Entering immediately into the service of archaeology at the very moment of its birth, the photograph presented itself as a superior tool for depicting civilizations that had been resurrected by the hands of artists and through the eyes of travelers. Ancient cities and works of art not seen for millennia came into view through a technical marvel that pledged perfect clarity of vision.

Prominent among the camera's first subjects were portraits of classical statuary and panoramas of ruined monuments posed in timeless landscapes. The desire to see symbolic places and to experience their rediscovery vicariously spurred the circulation of images among audiences that enthusiastically supported archaeological research. Pictures of the past underpinned a number of contemporary intellectual, cultural, and political concerns: Where do we come from? What values do the artistic creations of the past embody today? How does this heritage shape relations between us, other cultures, and other nations? Looking back on the contributions of photography to a century of archaeological achievements, the art historian Adolf Michaelis summed up what was for many a revelation: "With the help of photography, we have learned to see anew."[1]


ΟΔΙΠΟΡΟΣ



Figure 1.
UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD (American, active 1880s–1940s), "Man in Study looking through Stereo viewer," ca. 1900. Albumen silver print stereograph. California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

The camera played a decisive role in the rediscovery of antiquity, particularly in the lands surrounding the Mediterranean that were keystones of Europe's self-conception. Regarding ruins was a pilgrimage for earlier generations, but it assumed new purpose when photographers first focused their lenses on ancestral monuments. The following survey traces the collaboration of archaeology, still a young science in the nineteenth century, with the emerging technology of photography: how the inventors of photography imagined its application, and how they set the study of ancient art and architecture on a fresh course. The examples presented here testify to changes in the perception of antiquity as a source of personal aesthetic and emotive experience, as an authoritative symbol of communal identity, and, finally, as a mass-produced commodity. Comparing images of sites in the Near East and Egypt with images of classical antiquity in Italy brings these shifts into sharp relief. It allows a glimpse beneath the surface of representations that have regularly been categorized as merely documentary or touristic.

A significant consequence of the partnership between excavators and photographers was the transformation of archaeology from antiquarian curiosity into an autonomous discipline. The decades of photography's gestation, the 1830s–1840s, witnessed intense philosophical debates about origins. Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, published between 1830 and 1833, and the theory of evolutionary biology that Charles Darwin developed in its wake (*On the Origin of Species*, 1859) substantiated premonitions that the antiquity of man extended back far earlier in time than theology had taught. By placing human history and natural history along the same time line, archaeological science challenged orthodox ways of viewing the development of human society. Photography demonstrated at key junctures how the past could be reconstructed through its physical remains. Most importantly, it provided a tool to organize and interpret this new source of historical information. Archaeologists pursued the positivist goal of revealing ancient civilizations as they actually once were, by looking at artifacts emancipated from Scripture, ancient texts, and the motives of their authors. The study of antiquity was thus at the center of an upheaval in world view in which the stakes were high and verifiable visual evidence was essential. In the new faith of science, seeing was believing.

The ability to replicate the reality of the external world in an exact and permanent copy was one of the hallmarks of the revolution that shook nineteenth-century Europe. Modern technologies of communication and transport registered powerful effects on travel, education, and popular culture, enabling a universalizing apprehension—the panoptic gaze—of the wider world (fig. 1). Industrialization consolidated a middle-class citizenry that was increasingly invested in the recovery and preservation of its own regional and national heritage, and that shared an escalating anxiety about questions of cultural authenticity and legitimacy. An intrinsically compelling medium, photography became operative at a time when nation-building centered more and more on tangible symbols and places of collective memory.

The imagery of an archaeological past that photographs made concrete cannot be separated from contemporary concerns of ethnic and political identity. Behind the spectacle of remote, emblematic, and picturesque places stood implicit assumptions about the future progress and destiny of nations. Seen through the lenses of photographers trained as artists and architects and steeped in the political ideals of democracy, for example, the Parthenon in Athens embodied multiple, sometimes conflicting, values: national landmark, artistic pinnacle, or symbol of political liberty.[2] Other contributions to this volume suggest ways that the Parthenon's cultural biography has been narrated in pictures (see Papadopoulos figs. 4–11 and 13; Stewart fig. 7; and Szegedy-Maszak figs. 10–16 and 19–21). Embedded in the imagery of iconic places and works of art are struggles for political independence, claims of cultural supremacy, and strides toward national unity.

Camera vision—selectively focused, aesthetically informed, incontrovertible—is persuasive. We still operate under assumptions rooted in the iconography of historical images, which now loom in importance over words.[3] Most histories of archaeology, however, give notably short shrift to the role of photography. Like snapshots in a souvenir travel album proving that the archaeologist *was there and found this*, the photographic print is generally accepted as uncomplicated documentation. Not simply windows onto bygone eras, as is now a commonplace, photographs were reproduced in a thick context of debates about the relationship of past to present. Recent considerations of the historical construction of vision and the visual economy usefully locate the photograph at a juncture where philosophical, scientific, and aesthetic discourses meet technological, institutional, and political demands.[4] Regarding the imagery of antiquity through this lens reveals the complex grid of understandings and conditions that stand behind seemingly unimpeded views.



Beginnings of a New Art in an Old Civilization

Most of the implications for an optically enhanced vision of antiquity had been predicted at the inception of photography. When he endorsed the daguerreotype process in 1839, François Arago emphasized the many advantages of Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's invention and foresaw the contribution that photography would make to the practice of archaeology.

> *Everyone will imagine the extraordinary advantages which could have been derived from so exact and rapid a means of reproduction during the expedition to Egypt; everybody will realize that had we had photography in 1798 we would possess today faithful pictorial records of that which the learned world is forever deprived of by the greed of the Arabs and the vandalism of certain travelers. To copy the millions of hieroglyphics which cover even the exterior of the great monuments of Thebes, Memphis, Karnak, and others would require decades of time and legions of draughtsmen. By daguerreotype one person would suffice to accomplish this immense work successfully. Equip the Egyptian Institute with two or three [examples] of Daguerre's apparatus, and before long on several of the large tablets of the celebrated work, which had its inception in the expedition to Egypt, innumerable hieroglyphics as they are in reality will replace those which now are invented or designed by approximation. These designs will excel the works of the most accomplished painters, in fidelity of detail and true reproduction of the local atmosphere. Since the invention follows the laws of geometry, it will be possible to re-establish with the aid of a small number of given factors the exact size of the highest points of the most inaccessible structures.*[5]

From our perspective, in which pictures in print and on film are ubiquitous, Egyptology seems a curious, somewhat abstruse subject in which to invest the immense potential of the camera. Arago's audiences, however, which counted among them preeminent intellects in art, philology, physics, and natural history, would have grasped the wider significance. By describing the merits of daguerreotype images in terms of field documentation, he strategically acknowledged the royal government's record of enlightened support for scholarly enterprises abroad. Groundbreaking discoveries had galvanized the learned world in the years just prior to the invention of a permanent means to capture and fix reflected images of light. During Napoleon's 1799 campaign in Egypt, a large basalt block inscribed with identical texts in hieroglyphics, Demotic Egyptian, and Greek was discovered in the Nile Delta town of El-Rashīd. An accidental find, the so-called Rosetta Stone held the key to decoding a baffling pictorial language. The expedition to transcribe hieroglyphic texts that covered the extant ruins and to draw Egypt's artistic, civic, and geographical features justified Napoleon's military and scholarly occupation of a country reputed since antiquity to be the source of true wisdom. Beginning in 1809, these illustrations were published in the magnificent *Description de l'Égypte*, a fittingly monumental compilation of some nine hundred plates that was completed in 1828.

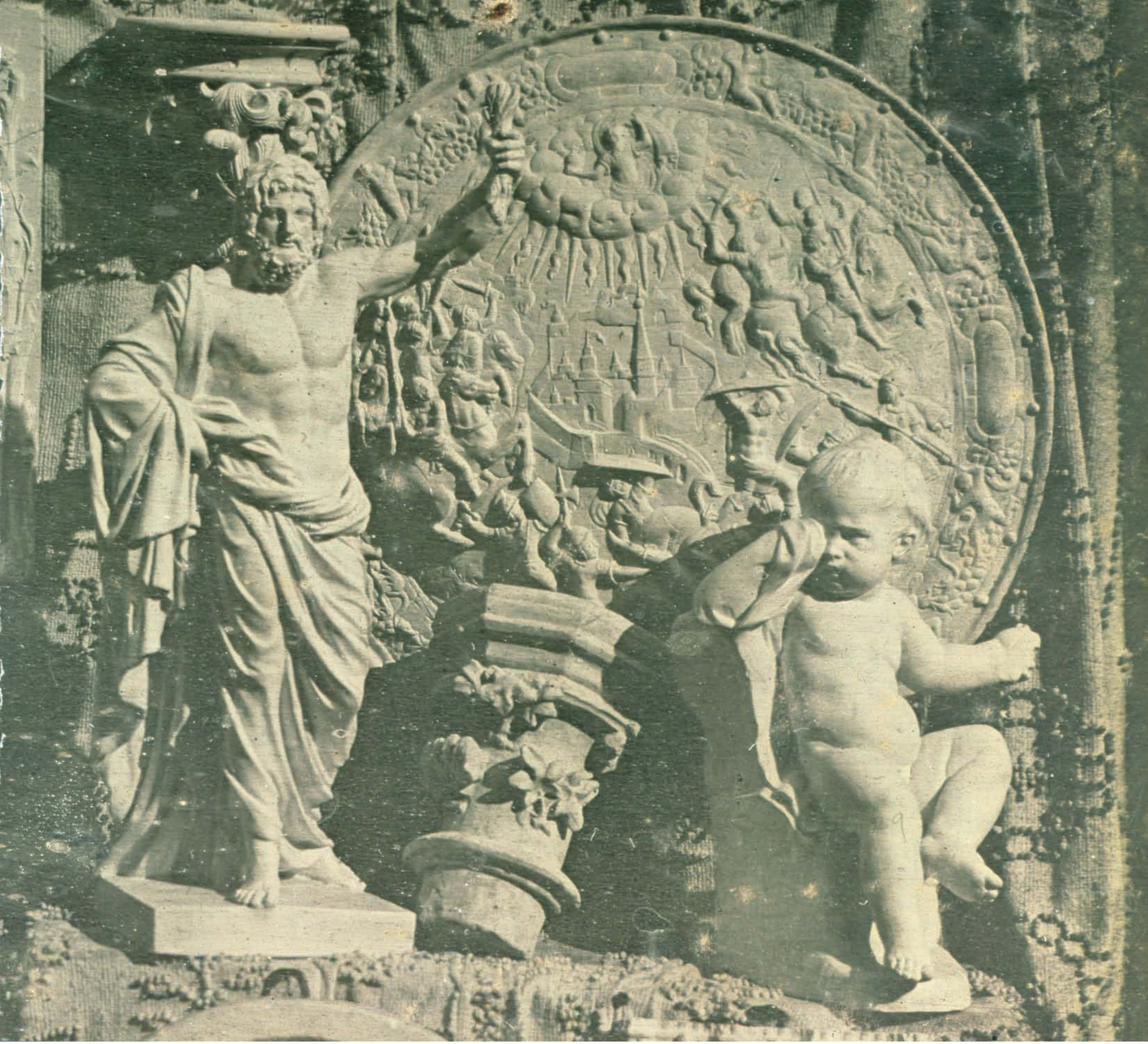
The decipherment of hieroglyphics by the French Egyptologist Jean-François Champollion, announced in 1822 and disseminated in his *Grammaire égyptienne* (1836–1841), provided an impetus for gathering even more texts that extended the bounds of written history back by thousands of years. In seeking the financial support of the government for a tool to carry out the imperatives of Oriental philology, Arago's mission was to assure France's continued preeminence, not only in a field in which French scholars had already garnered international acclaim, but also in a region of considerable geopolitical

consequence. Given the achievements that France would attain in archaeological exploration, research, and photographic documentation throughout the nineteenth century, the great expectations of Daguerre's influential supporters were well founded.

The utility of this visual technology was quickly championed, but epigraphical and archaeological research was not the foremost application originally envisioned. An accomplished landscape painter, Daguerre himself saw his invention primarily as an aid to amateur artists, noting that picturesque scenery, castles and country houses, and even portraits could be made by giving nature "the power to reproduce herself."[6] In breaking the news of his astonishing device, the popular press was effusive about its ability to reproduce faithfully "inanimate nature... views of the finest monuments and of the most delightful scenery of the whole world."[7] In his initial January 1839 announcement before a meeting of the Académie des sciences in Paris, Arago enumerated the advantages of the invention especially for the *voyage pittoresque*, a genre of illustrated travel literature popular since the 1770s that depicted famous monuments and scenic landscapes. The priority on foreign exploration is not surprising, given the backing of the royal government for antiquarian and artistic missions from southern Italy and the Morea in Greece to the Middle East. Arago's emphasis on travel and the efficacy of the daguerreotype in sunny climates ("Egypt for example") suggests an awareness that competitors were poised to make similar claims on the technology as well as on overseas ventures.

Six months after the initial public notice of the daguerreotype, two reports on a bill authorizing the government to purchase Daguerre's invention were submitted. Arago's observations at this time were much more specific and appealed directly to French successes in Mediterranean exploration. Among the criteria he charged the Chamber of Deputies with considering were the originality of the invention, its potential service to archaeology and the arts, practical usefulness, and advantages for science. Often cited, the famous remarks quoted above (p. 27) hint at the blatant proprietary claims that northern Europeans would lay to the patrimony of sovereign territories in the southern and eastern Mediterranean. A second report, by the physicist Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac, read to the Chamber of Peers, cited the perfect reproductions of bas-reliefs, statues, and monuments that the daguerreotype had demonstrated, and predicted benefits for industrial and design arts, as well as for categorizing species in natural history.

These two reports jointly heralded key subjects and methods that the nascent discipline of archaeology would soon synthesize: architectural and landscape survey, object taxonomy, philology, art history, and collecting. Through Arago's persuasive promotion, the daguerreotype was acquired by the French government and was presented to the world as a beneficent contribution to the future progress of art and science. "To those who are not indifferent to national glory, and who know that a people excels in achievement over other peoples only in proportion to their respective progress in civilization, to those we can say that the process of M. Daguerre is a great discovery... the beginning of a new art in an old civilization; it means a new era and secures for us a title to glory."[8]



Expeditionary Photography

WITHIN A FEW MONTHS, daguerreotypists such as the Swiss Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière were making pictures in Egypt and throughout the world (fig. 2). Generally considered one of the first travelers to focus his lens on the ruins of antiquity, Joly de Lotbinière set about photographing in Greece and Egypt as soon as daguerreotype equipment could be obtained. Like so many travelers' daguerreotypes, the ninety-two views he made in 1839–1840 are no longer extant, probably because the plates were subsequently used as models for reproductive prints. This involved tracing the outlines of the daguerreotype, which was then reproduced by an etcher in intaglio for printing, one of several manual or chemical procedures that usually damaged the original plate. Even if only as a shadow of the prototype, the debut of the daguerreotype is saved for us via the medium of photomechanical reproduction.

Joly de Lotbinière's one-of-a-kind views survive in some engravings made for *Excursions daguerriennes* (see Papadopoulos fig. 8) and in aquatints for the splendid travelogue *Panorama d'Égypte et de Nubie*, published by the architect Hector Horeau in 1841.[9] Illustrations drawn by Horeau of his excursion up the Nile temper the factuality of the daguerreotype plate with an Orientalist penchant for peopling romantic ruins with nonchalant locals in native costume. Western presumptions of benign entitlement are triggered through a potent mingling of architecturally correct perspective and suggestive *couleur locale*. They imply that only the artist and his intended audiences have the expertise to appreciate and preserve Egypt's heritage. The illustrations are witnesses to the reciprocal influences between traditional expeditionary illustration and the modern objectivity of the photograph, which Arago and his fellow scientists anticipated would revitalize the praxis of scholarly exploration.

The oeuvre of Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, much of which has recently come to the attention of scholars, represents the true dawn of photography. This astonishing body of work offers us the first sightings of antiquity's capital cities: Rome, Athens, Ephesos, Baalbek, Cairo, and Jerusalem. Daguerreotypes taken during his 1842–1845 Mediterranean tour comprise scenic panoramas and studies of vegetation in which the enthusiasm of a first-time traveler to the eastern Aegean and the Levant is apparent. Among the photographs are also many strictly architectural studies, made by a keen observer of comparative styles of ornament. Numerous views peer upward at temple entablatures with their encyclopedic array of Greek and Roman capitals, decorative moldings, pediments, and friezes (see Stewart figs. 3, 12, and 13). His delight in novel forms reveals a romantic historicist's attitude toward architecture as a cultural vernacular. An historian of Moorish architecture in Spain and Gallo-Roman monuments near his native Langres in northeastern France (see Stewart figs. 1 and 15), Girault de Prangey sought the character and destiny of a people in the stylistic lexicon of ornament and building techniques (see Stewart quote p. 71 with note 11). The daguerreotype not only provided truthful illustrations of analogous developments across cultures, it also captured a vision of ancestral structures persisting amid a rapidly changing world: "We lament the disappearance of the old walls of the town of our birth, for they reminded us of the still-living history of its past; we lament the ivies, the wild plants that made the ramparts they decorated so dear to painters ... vain laments!"[10]

In the same year as Arago's announcement of the daguerreotype, 1839, the German Egyptologist Richard Lepsius began planning a major expedition to explore Egypt, record hieroglyphs, and acquire works of art for the museum in Berlin. Ironically, the utility of the new process for reproducing ancient inscriptions was limited in practice. Not only was the method inconvenient due to the logistics of transporting cumbersome equipment into the field for extended campaigns, but its use was also hampered by the fact that the image that materialized on the shiny silver surface of the copper plate—enchanting as it was—was small and unique. Because the image could not be



Figure 2.
Salle hypostyle de Karnac (Hypostyle hall at Karnak), 1841. Aquatint after daguerreotype of ca. 1839–1840 by Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, 39.7 × 28.3 cm (15⅝ × 11⅛ in.). From Hector Horeau, *Panorama d'Égypte et de Nubie* . . . (Paris, 1841), pl. XIII. GRI 91-B27612.



Figure 3. William Henry Fox Talbot (British, 1800–1877), *The Colosseum, Rome*, 1860. Photoglyphic engraving, 5.7 × 7.1 cm (2¼ × 2¹³⁄₁₆ in.). JPGM 84.XM.1002.2.

replicated, except through engraving, it did not allow easy exchanges among the community of scholars. Although a number of travelers and amateurs soon made daguerreotypes of ancient architectural monuments in far-flung parts of the world, by and large these belonged to the genre of the *voyage pittoresque* rather than to the systematic catalogue. Better suited to the needs of archaeologists in the field was a contemporary invention that held several advantages.

First developed in 1835 and perfected by 1840, William Henry Fox Talbot's negative-positive procedure, through which multiple prints could be generated, was a major stride along the road to rapid dissemination of precise visual surrogates. Not atypical in a generation of polymaths whose inquisitive intellects spanned the humanities and sciences, the British physicist Talbot achieved international recognition for mathematical contributions and translations of Assyrian texts in addition to his photographic researches. Among the subjects of his early photographic negatives, which he named calotypes (after the Greek word *kalos*, beautiful), were casts of antique busts and cuneiform inscriptions, subjects that he later addressed in his numerous publications on Assyriology and classical antiquity. Talbot's 1846 publication, "The Talbotype Applied to Hieroglyphics," reproduced a photograph of a drawing of a hieroglyphic text, reflecting his antiquarian interests.

Reproducibility, the prime feature of the negative that made mass copies feasible in ways daguerreotypes could not, was an application that Talbot promoted heavily. Multiplication allowed photography to be directly integrated into the existing graphic media and so, for the first time, to be shared in a meaningful way. This had revolutionary consequences for the publishing industry and for the wider public's access to and consumption of illustrations of ancient art and archaeology. Themes drawn from the fine arts point to Talbot's absorption with art reproduction. In addition to the hieroglyph pamphlet, his oeuvre includes calotypes and photomechanical prints depicting classical statuary, the Lion Gate at Mycenae, and the Colosseum in Rome (fig. 3). Not subsidized by the government as Daguerre was, Talbot retained the patent rights to his process, which initially stifled its wider diffusion. With the development of more efficient photographic printing techniques, for example, those introduced by Louis-Desiré Blanquart-Evrard in 1851, Talbot's impulse to realize photographically illustrated publications became economically viable.[11]

Correspondence between Talbot and numerous scholars, artists, and travelers to ancient lands had an immediate impact on the spread of photography as an indispensable tool on voyages of discovery. He frequently taught novices, and he received numerous letters telling of the promise and frustration of photography on site. Eager to see the calotype process employed in the field, Talbot pressed archaeologist colleagues to adopt it: "Nothing excels the photographic method in its power of delineating such objects as form your researches, as ruins, statues, basreliefs . . . and I should think it would be highly interesting to take a view of each remnant of antiquity <u>before removing it</u>, & while it still remains <u>in situ</u> & surrounded with stones & bushes & all the other accompaniments of wild nature."[12] The rigors of outdoor photography in inhospitable environments, in fact, played a large hand in hastening technical innovation, efficiency, and quality of photographic images.

The first generation of photographers instructed others and exchanged practical guidance. Word spread rapidly and generated an excitement that had immeasurable repercussions. Impressed by an exhibition of calotype prints at the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition in London, a student of Talbot's, Auguste Le Plongeon, shared formulae developed on Saint Thomas in the Virgin Islands with Lord Russell, a photographer in Egypt, helping to improve techniques.[13] From this early success, Le Plongeon went on to become the first photographer of Inca megalithic structures in Peru in the early 1860s. With his wife, Alice Dixon, he accomplished the earliest panoramic stereograph documentation of Maya temple glyphs at Chichén Itzá and Uxmal in the Yucatán of Mexico in 1873 (fig. 4). Le Plongeon figured among the pioneers who helped to shift archaeological documentation away from its dependence on artistic interpretation and toward more neutral visual representations, but the two modes — facsimile and rendition — continued to play a necessary role.

Responding to Talbot's communication and impressed by several enclosed samples of calotypes, Richard Lepsius was keen to experiment on his own. He harbored reservations about

the difficulty of obtaining and storing pre-prepared paper on long journeys, such as the one he was about to embark upon in Egypt. During a stay in England just prior to his departure at the end of July 1842, he apprenticed with the inventor. Among his final tasks was a request for more paper and the purchase of a camera obscura.[14] Though Lepsius was clearly intending to photograph Egyptian hieroglyphs, there is no indication in his grand publication *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (1849–1859) that this was actually accomplished. Reportedly his equipment was damaged during the sea crossing en route to Alexandria. Instead, several artists and architects accompanied the expedition, including Joseph Bonomi, whose skills had been honed on Robert Hay's mission to Qurna and Philae in Egypt in the 1820s. Bonomi and fellow artist Ernst Weidenbach relied on traditional methods of illustration: tracing, taking paper impressions of hieroglyphs, and drawing measured elevations of significant architectural monuments.

Panoramas of the ruins in their landscape settings made by Lepsius's artists suggest the use of the camera lucida in the meticulous delineation of the masonry courses that composed the core of an eroding stepped pyramid and the scatter of blocks and stones that dot the rough terrain at its base.[15] A simple prism, the camera lucida allowed one to outline a scene that was made to appear as if it lay on the surface of the paper. The device, invented in 1806, was inextricably linked with the impetus to make factual pictures. In the hands of scientist Sir John Herschel, it enabled a proto-photographic observation of botanical specimens, geological formations, and scenic monuments (fig. 5). His later desire to fix images permanently in ever more subtle gradations of light and shadow led Herschel to various pathbreaking photographic discoveries.[16] The instrument was popular among topographical artists and architects as an enhancement to objective seeing. Realistic illustrations that could be achieved by an adept draftsman constituted an intermediate step between interpretive drawings and precise camera vision.

Photography was less effective than drawing for making facsimiles of certain kinds of archaeological subjects, especially in its first decade when the conditions of fieldwork—extreme climates and lengthy voyages to destinations cut off from supply sources—made the production of daguerreotypes and paper photographs an uncertain and often counterproductive affair. The difficulties that discouraged Lepsius's team also presented a barrier to Sir Charles Fellows, who directed collecting campaigns in Lycia on behalf of the British Museum. Writing to Talbot in 1843, he expressed his intentions to have molders make casts of sculptural reliefs and impress-paper copies of inscriptions. Three-dimensional duplicates of in-situ remains supplemented the shipload of sculptures and architectural fragments from funerary monuments in Xanthos, the main city in Lycia, that Fellows brought back to London. He was willing to attempt photography—"if I can through your means call the Sun which is ever at command to aid me"—and, like Lepsius, he was eager to learn.

> *My great objections some years ago to trying the Daguerotypes [sic] were the expense of the plates, the extreme care in excluding light & the [destruction?] caused by contact. These were fatal to their use in the rough traveling of Turkey. . . . I should if applicable to my purposes much like to take charge of this department myself [and] make myself master of the art of applying it—distant landscape is the most required by me by which I mean also views of inaccessible [tombs?] in the rocks.*

Several months later, Fellows abandoned his ambition, citing

> *the great imperfection in the manufacture of paper suited to the purpose, the nicety required in using the chemicals, and the extreme cleanliness and exclusion of light in the process; I fear the science is not ripe enough for the use of the rough traveler . . . considering the increase of care and trouble given to the party, the cost of the fitting out, as well as thinking the subjects not altogether applicable to show the best power of the instrument.*[17]



Figure 4. Alice Dixon Le Plongeon (British, 1851–1910), Auguste Le Plongeon photographing the Governor's Palace at Uxmal, Mexico, ca. 1873. Copy print, 21.6 × 27.9 cm (8½ × 11 in.), from a wet collodion on glass plate negative, 12.7 × 20.3 cm (5 × 8 in.). From the Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon papers. GRI 2004.M.18.

No. 369



J.F.W. Herschel del. Cam. Luc. May 17. 1824.

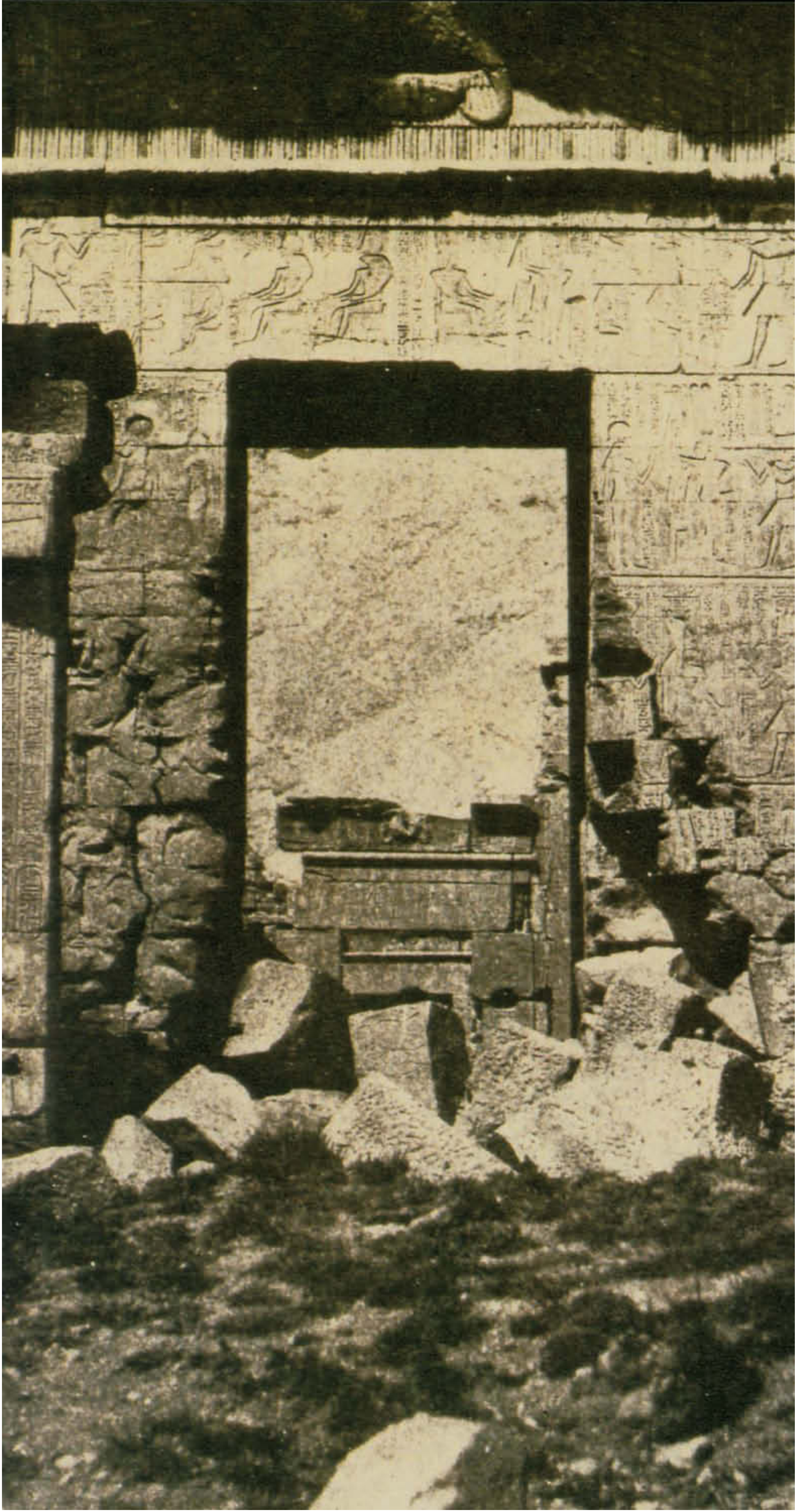
The Coliseum, Rome



Figure 5.
Sir John F. W. Herschel (British, 1792–1871), "The Coliseum, Rome (with extreme care & precision)," May 17, 1824. Graphite drawing made with the aid of a camera lucida, 19.2 × 29 cm (7 ½ × 11 ⅜ in.). JPGM VL.2005.1.14. Collection of Mac Holbert. Scan courtesy of Nash Editions.

Technical impediments were not the sole reason that photographic representations were only gradually accepted as tools on excavations. Daguerreotypists, after all, managed to make their way to fairly inaccessible locations quite soon after Arago's announcement. Another key factor in the slow adoption of photography was that archaeological research placed specific demands on explanatory illustration. Scholars such as Lepsius and Fellows had been accustomed to working from tracings and line drawings, whose contours clearly communicated subject matter and corrected lacunae in the original. Illustrations generally reflect the ethos of their era, and while there was a strong tendency to romanticize antiquity for various ideological ends, there was a commensurate impulse toward accurate didactic imagery, visible in the graphic illustrations of antiquarians, natural scientists, and architects.[18] The legibility and interpretive "pointing" of drawing, in which important features could be selectively highlighted, never wholly gave way to the undifferentiated inclusiveness of photographs, even to this day.

Photographs were particularly advantageous, as Fellows suggested, in illustrating sites and monuments panoramically, as integral elements of landscape that could be mapped topographically. An increasingly prominent raison d'être of exploration throughout the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the field of historical topography had evolved from artistic sightseeing, as, for example, in the classic illustrated travelogues of the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier in Greece and Louis Cassas in the Levant, to a practice oriented toward charting the physical development and cultural geography of sites over time.[19] The first uses of the camera for reconnaissance and mapping, around 1850, coincided with its expanding applications in fieldwork, survey, and the inventory of heritage resources.[20]



Reading Ruins

THE "BEST POWER OF THE INSTRUMENT" was realized by the mid-nineteenth century, when photography became a more regular feature of research expeditions.[21] Following on the topographical tradition, many of the earliest photo-documentary views of ancient buildings involved a visual mapping of architectural complexes densely embellished with sculptured friezes, paintings, and incised texts. Equally absorbed by the technology of the camera and the marvels of antiquity that it captured, photographers turned their lenses to imposing architectural remains on three continents. Frederick Catherwood and Emmanuel von Friedrichsthal in the Yucatán (1839–1841), Jules Itier in China and Egypt (1843–1846), Adolph Schaefer at the Temple of Borobudor in Java (1844), and the Baron Alexis de LaGrange in India (1849) were among the first to train their cameras on exotic architectural styles.[22] Their views fed an appetite for the bizarre and at the same time accomplished an indispensable slab-by-slab transcription of glyphs, hieroglyphics, and narrative reliefs that enveloped sacred structures.

The accuracy of photographs especially recommended their use for recording intricate decoration and facilitated a systematic reading of buildings literally as texts in stone, legible across their facades. The advent of big digs underwritten by substantial state and institutional funding called for advanced documentary techniques that appropriately credited enlightened rulers who supported the vanguard of scholarship. Consequently, it is not coincidental that many pioneer archaeological photographers were active on expeditionary campaigns in Egypt and the Middle East. Here the chronicles of world history were literally carved on monument walls, awaiting transmission and translation.

The parlance of the day cast Maxime Du Camp and Félix Teynard as archaeologists, for their interest in depicting the colossal remains of Egypt's pharaonic past. Outfitted with a full panoply of equipment, their journeys represent transitional stages between the artistic voyage and the scientific expedition.

Several divergent trajectories that infuse the genre of archaeological photography, a term that was still being applied loosely, are evident in the images they brought back. Du Camp's literary sensibilities could not help but be sharpened by his travel companion Gustave Flaubert, and they emerge clearly in an anthology of views, *Égypte, Palestine et Syrie*, published shortly after their 1849 trip.[23] Awe, a presentiment of insignificance in the face of the enormity of ancient Egyptian civilization — these are the sensory impressions that his salted paper prints such as the oft-reproduced image of one of the colossi at Abu Simbel, continue to provoke (see Plate I).

Félix Teynard departed for Egypt just as Du Camp and Flaubert returned to Paris. It was the express goal of Teynard, a civil engineer from Grenoble, to update the encyclopedic *Description de l'Égypte* with discoveries of the intervening three decades. Though he regarded himself as a tourist, his technical background likely guided an appreciation for the structural achievements of ancient Egyptian architects (see Plate II). In an album published in 1858, *Égypte et Nubie*, his perspectives on the siting of monuments and their relationship to the landscape are reminiscent of an earlier era of exploration.[24] The importance of this and a dozen other photographic publications that appeared during the 1850s and 1860s lies in the new visual modes in which the wonders of the East were presented for consumption by the public. With the purchase of each installment, readers were guided by a sequence of ostensibly unbiased images that guaranteed the truthfulness of written descriptions. As a substitute for the personalized experience of travel, they offered at once a window onto the outside world and a powerful device through which to represent and ultimately to possess it.

In this endeavor few areas were more critical than the Middle East, where troves of texts from ancient Mesopotamia and Assyria awaited. These sites, linked by tradition to the Old and New Testaments, held out the hope that archaeology, paradoxically a challenger to spiritual authority, might also demonstrate the Bible's essential truthfulness. Some of the first archaeological excavation shots were taken by Gabriel Tranchand for the mission of Victor Place to Khorsabad in Iraq beginning in 1851. They depict the progressive unearthing of the Palace of Sargon II, King of Assyria. The labor of exposing monumental architecture and sculptures still standing within the layers of the mound unfolds before the camera's lens in a series of daguerreotypes that date to 1853.

Despite Tranchand's attention to mud-brick structures and artifact finds, there is a "eureka" quality to these and a number of other photographically illustrated publications printed during the heyday of Egyptian and Near Eastern exploration. Perched atop ruined walls or leaning with casual familiarity against the flanks of a colossal Assyrian human-headed bull, the triumphant archaeologist-custodian stakes a claim to the monument.[25] Portraits of archaeologists "capturing" statues of lions and mythical creatures or climbing the crumbling remains of vanquished empires are a recurrent trope of territorial conquest (see fig. 8 and Plate VII). Standing behind these adventurous treasure hunts were imperial ambitions, trade opportunities, and quests to validate biblical tradition. The rhetoric of salvage informs the official mandate of exploratory missions to inventory the artistic patrimony of colonial empires that were direct heirs to antiquity. A harvest of ethnographic and archaeological objects soon stocked museum vitrines, in which cultures at Europe's periphery were neatly itemized. As some critics have observed, the visual logic of the photograph — self-evidently "true" and effortlessly multiplied — was an effective tool by which Western powers leveraged political and economic advantages to establish Eurocentric hegemony over the domain of universal history.

The physical and conceptual movement of artifacts from the realm of local patrimony to that of universal or global heritage was premised on a positivist reliance on tangible evidence. Colonial agendas notwithstanding, scientific curiosity was a driving force of the new discipline. The camera favored empirical knowledge of antiquity by allowing irregular or anomalous sites and objects to be placed into predictable, hierarchical frameworks, in a "system of controlled resemblances."[26] Photographs were called on both to witness the reliability of texts and to corroborate archaeological discoveries that might depart from or even contradict written history. From the early 1850s, methodical reproduction of excavation finds became the top priority. The introduction of albumenized paper and collodion glass negatives, which produced images in fine-grained

detail, greatly accelerated the use of photography in the field. As aide-mémoire, facsimile illustrations permitted comparative study of objects, their styles, and their development over time. The key to this approach rested in working out relative chronology by examining successive strata. Strides made by northern European archaeologists in object seriation demonstrated the possibilities of reconstructing the past through monuments and the residues of daily life. History was inscribed, not only horizontally on the surfaces of citadel walls, but also vertically through time according to the superimposition of foundations, building phases, and the layering of art and artifacts.

One perceives this essentially archaeological vision in photographs taken by John Beasley Greene and Auguste Salzmann, two practitioners who began their careers with the study of Egyptian antiquity before taking up the camera. Greene was trained in Oriental philology by Champollion's successor, the Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé, conservator of the Egyptian collection at the Louvre. Greene's first voyage to Egypt, in 1853, resulted in two sets of photographs titled *Sculptures et Inscriptions Égyptiennes* and *Monuments et Paysages*, which include documentation of Auguste Mariette's excavations of the Sphinx, perhaps the first deliberate excavation records in Egypt. Later, Greene himself excavated at Medinet Habu and published the results in *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855*. Twelve salted paper prints methodically illustrate the statue of Ramesses III. General views taken in Egypt and Algeria include some notably minimal landscapes, vacant of habitation to the horizon, and abstract tumbles of rock. Such views have been seen by historians of photography as quintessentially modern and attract the most attention. In Greene's work, however, the realia of Egyptian antiquity predominate. His attention to inscriptions, to the delineation of architectural space, and to sequential coverage of important contexts registers the perspectives of an archaeologist in spirit and practice (fig. 6).[27]

Auguste Salzmann's photographs exhibit a fusion of the aesthetic and the documentary impulses that parallels Greene's oeuvre. While Salzmann's images of architecture in Jerusalem reflect an excavator's eye for building phases and materials, his rigorously cropped detail studies of textured masonry and brickwork appeal, like certain of Greene's views, to a minimalist taste for the fragment. Salzmann, who was trained as an artist, discovered the Orient during travels in North Africa and a stint collecting Egyptian objects for the museum in Colmar in 1847–1851. He initiated a photographic campaign in Palestine with the express objective of validating a chronological proposal of archaeologist Félix de Saulcy that the city of Jerusalem preserved architectural remains from the period of Solomon. Saulcy's interpretation relied on rereading the superimposition of architectural strata, and it ignited fierce polemics until Salzmann's photographs supplied visual confirmation. Published in *Jérusalem, Étude et reproduction photographique des monuments de la Ville sainte*... (1856), the images surpass the partiality of mere words and manual drawings—they are "brute facts," as Saulcy approvingly called them. It is possible that Greene saw Salzmann's Jerusalem photographs in 1854, before departing on his second excursion to Egypt.[28]

Reading ruins was a literary journey as much as a physical act of revealing history layer by layer, page by page. Providing journalistic coverage of unfolding excavations, the photograph was the ideal accompaniment to archaeological publications that were part travelogue, part personal diary, and part official record. For the English archaeologist Charles Newton, photographs publicized the solution to a topographical conundrum, the site of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World in ancient times. The precise location of the mausoleum below the town of Bodrum (the modern Halicarnassus) had been the subject of speculation and soundings by several investigators before Newton's 1856–1857 expedition, which was funded by the British Museum. As keeper of antiquities, Newton's immediate aim was to secure for the museum the remaining marbles, to supplement those parts of the Amazon frieze that it already possessed. Much of the labor and support were provided by the crew of HMS *Gorgon*, with two sappers, Lt. Benjamin Spackman and



Figure 6. John Beasley Greene (American, b. in France, 1832–1856), *Thebes, Medinet Habu*, 1853–1854. Salted paper print, 23.2 × 30.8 cm (9⅛ × 12⅛ in.). JPGM 84.XM.361.19.

Lt. McCartney, appointed as photographers. Engineering skills suggested ingenious solutions, such as photographing a large mosaic pavement from vertical scaffolding (fig. 7). This is one of the few views in which excavators are shown together with local workmen, though occasionally landowners, with whom Newton closed hard bargains, are present.

Most of the illustrations focus on details of building construction, which offer tangible proof for identifying the site with the great monument described by Pliny (*Natural History* 36.4.30–32) as a stepped pyramid surmounted by a four-horse chariot. Minor objects do not figure prominently, perhaps because the sculptural program of the mausoleum had been reduced to rubble. Documentary views show foundations laid bare by tools that are carefully arrayed around trenches, or an overturned colossal lion being slowly righted (fig. 8). They appear beside illustrations conceived in the romantic mode of picturesque travel: a jumble of debris at Bodrum, derelict ruins of the Temple of Hekate enduring on an isolated rise at Lagina, and Demeter's forsaken sanctuary on Knidos. The iconography portrays a mission to retrieve a wondrous monument from oblivion (and the oblivious), with the heroic figure of the archaeologist at center stage. The narrative of the pictures confirms Newton's approach to the monumental and artistic remains of Halicarnassus as "vouchers for printed history."[29] Photographs of Halicarnassus were displayed in Rome in 1860 at the Palazzo Caffarelli, seat of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. They were not only acclaimed by the public, but they also inspired archaeologists such as Alexander Conze, who would make his own mark in exploring the eastern Aegean and recording it with photography at Samothrace.

In the absence of written descriptions, art and artifacts from little-known cultures had to be confronted on their own terms. With the support of Napoleon III, the survey expedition of Georges Perrot and Edmond Guillaume in eastern Turkey set out for a region that had barely been explored since the *voyage pittoresque* of Charles Texier in 1834. Accompanied by the photographer Jules Delbet, a team set out on May 2, 1861, after completing its official charge to copy an inscription on the Temple of Augustus and Rome in Ankara. Visual documentation then took on a much more subtle task. Thirty-one of Delbet's photographs, reproduced as photolithographs, illustrate Perrot's publication of classical and prehistoric remains from Bogazköy, Yazılıkaya, and several other sites in Galatia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. The newly patented Poitevin process, which produced a pigmented carbon print, imparted the palpable texture of rough stone surfaces and an atmospheric, pictorial rendering of scenic ruins and mountain villages in the distance.[30]

Bringing to light an unknown culture on the fringes of the classical world, these were the first actual views of some of the most important centers of Hittite culture, whose cuneiform script continued to puzzle philologists. Even when reproduced at one remove from the originals, Delbet's photographs provided striking and informative illustrations of pre-Greek art (fig. 9). Topographical panoramas, landscape views of the sculpted rock faces, and details of figural reliefs join outline drawings and tracings. While the drawings restore worn areas that are difficult to make out in the photographs and articulate depictive fine points of hair and costume, the photographs, taken in raking light, reveal toolmarks, degrees of weathering, and depth of the three-dimensional carvings, that is, the physical characteristics seen in overall context, rather than simply single elements of iconography abstracted from the whole.

The campaign faced the usual problems of controlling light and shadow in cramped spaces, weather, and the disapproval of local onlookers to acts of illustration. In the accompanying text, Perrot is sensitive to representational subtleties and cognizant of deformations and scale changes created by oblique angles, noting that Delbet's images were more successful when the sun was *voilé* (filtered), as opposed to the effect of bright sunlight, which produced a harsher image. "It is only in recent times that one has begun to understand what religion of exactitude and what delicacy of scruples one must apply to the monuments of antiquity," he wrote, launching into a critique of artists—the products of academic tradition and studio practice, who draw all moldings in the beaux-arts style of the distinguished architects Percier and Fontaine. "The worst fault is to rob the works of very different peoples of their particular character, their original accent, the local and sometimes unique nuance that distinguishes them . . . thus strange figures emerge

looking like bad Graeco-Roman reliefs, leading one to confuse primitive art with decadence."[31] Perrot's insight echoed the outlook of Girault de Prangey and was particularly significant at a time when the roots of Greek artistic genius were sought in the East, and the distinctiveness of pre-Hellenic art forms was just beginning to be appreciated. As a tool for visualizing stylistic affinities and cultural traits, photography could—at least in theory—act as an objective check upon the mediating presence of the artist's hand and could accord art forms of other cultures and time periods their singular expressive qualities. Most significantly, photography enabled scholars to discern the traits of art that were indicative of the essential character of a people, a connection that was exploited with the greatest consequences in the study of sculpture.



Figure 7. Benjamin L. Spackman (British, active 1856), *Tesselated Pavements Field of Hadji Captan*, 1856–1857. Photolithograph, 22.9 × 27.9 cm (9 × 11 in.). From Charles T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, & Branchidae* (London, 1863), vol. 1, pl. XXXVIII. GRI 84-B749.

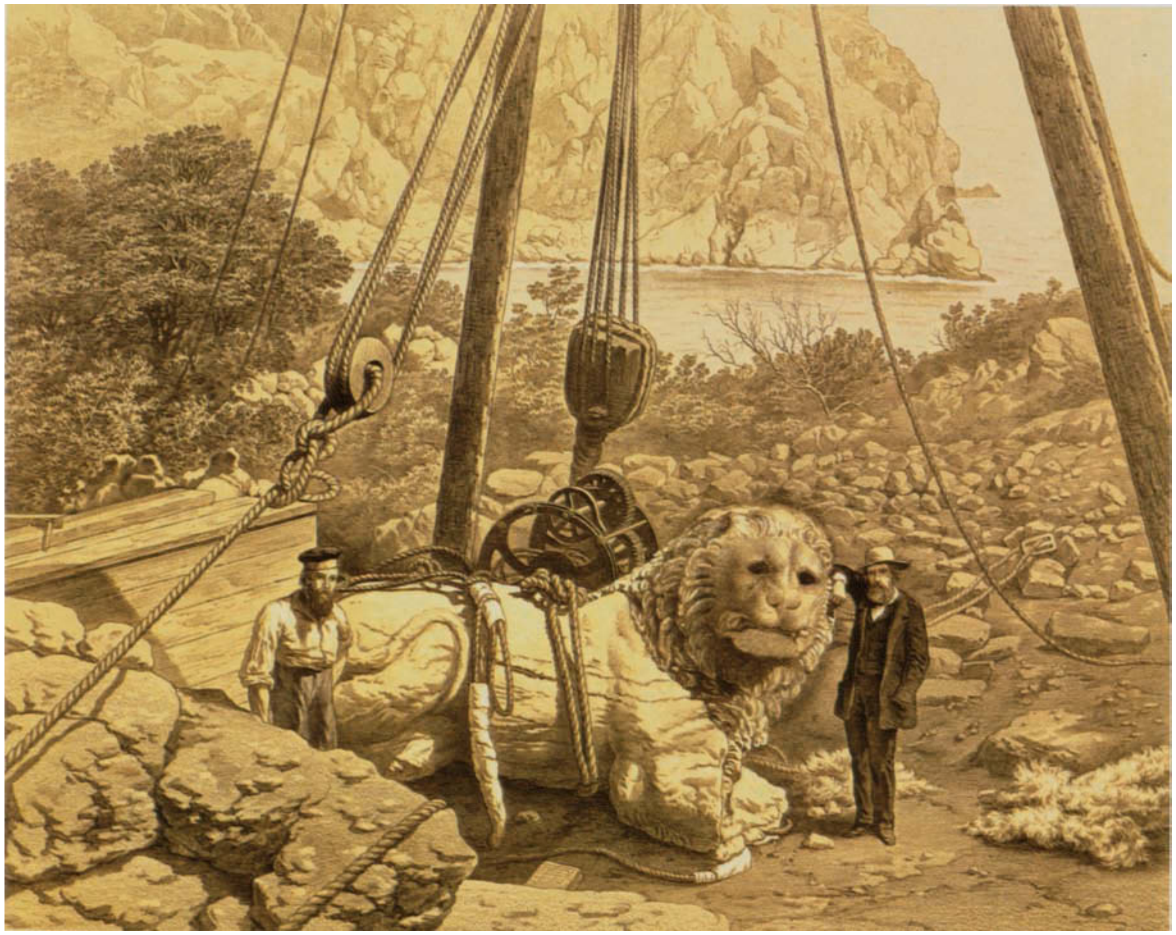


Figure 8.
Benjamin L. Spackman (British, active 1856), *View of Colossal Lion after Being Raised*, 1856–1857. Photolithograph, 22.9 × 27.9 cm (9 × 11 in.). From Charles T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, & Branchidae* (London, 1863), vol. 1, pl. LXI. GRI 84-B749.

Something of each of these visual strategies pursued by pioneer archaeological photographers is evident in the publication of Heinrich Schliemann's stunning discoveries. Few archaeologists could claim the success that Schliemann earned at Troy in 1871, and later at Mycenae, by trusting in the ancient texts. Locating the fabled site of Homer's *Iliad* at Hissarlik—an identification championed by the U.S. vice-consul and field archaeologist Frank Calvert—Schliemann's excavations sought and found proof that myth and history might be one. An ambitious amateur with the financial resources to indulge his passions, Schliemann was familiar with the skepticism of learned scholars about his methods and motives. His excavation team included a photographer from the Dardanelles named Siebrecht, who was charged with documenting the lay of the land. Drawings of objects, trenches, and most of the finds were sent to Athens to be photographed by Panagos Zaphiropoulos. Writing to John Turtle Wood, who was then conducting excavations at Ephesos, Schliemann laid out his plan: "I think therefore to publish now at once a book both in Greek and in German with photographs of all the most curious things found here. Do you not think [this] is a good plan in order that the thing might become thoroughly known?"[32]



Figure 9.
Jules Delbet
(French, active 1860s),
Pterium (Boghaz-Keui) Iasili-Kaia Bas-Relief du Couloir (Bogazköy, Yasılıkaya, low relief in the entrance passage), ca. 1861.
Photolithograph,
26.7 × 21 cm
(10½ × 8¼ in.).
From Georges Perrot, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* . . . (Paris, 1862–1872), pl. 51.
GRI 2569-177.

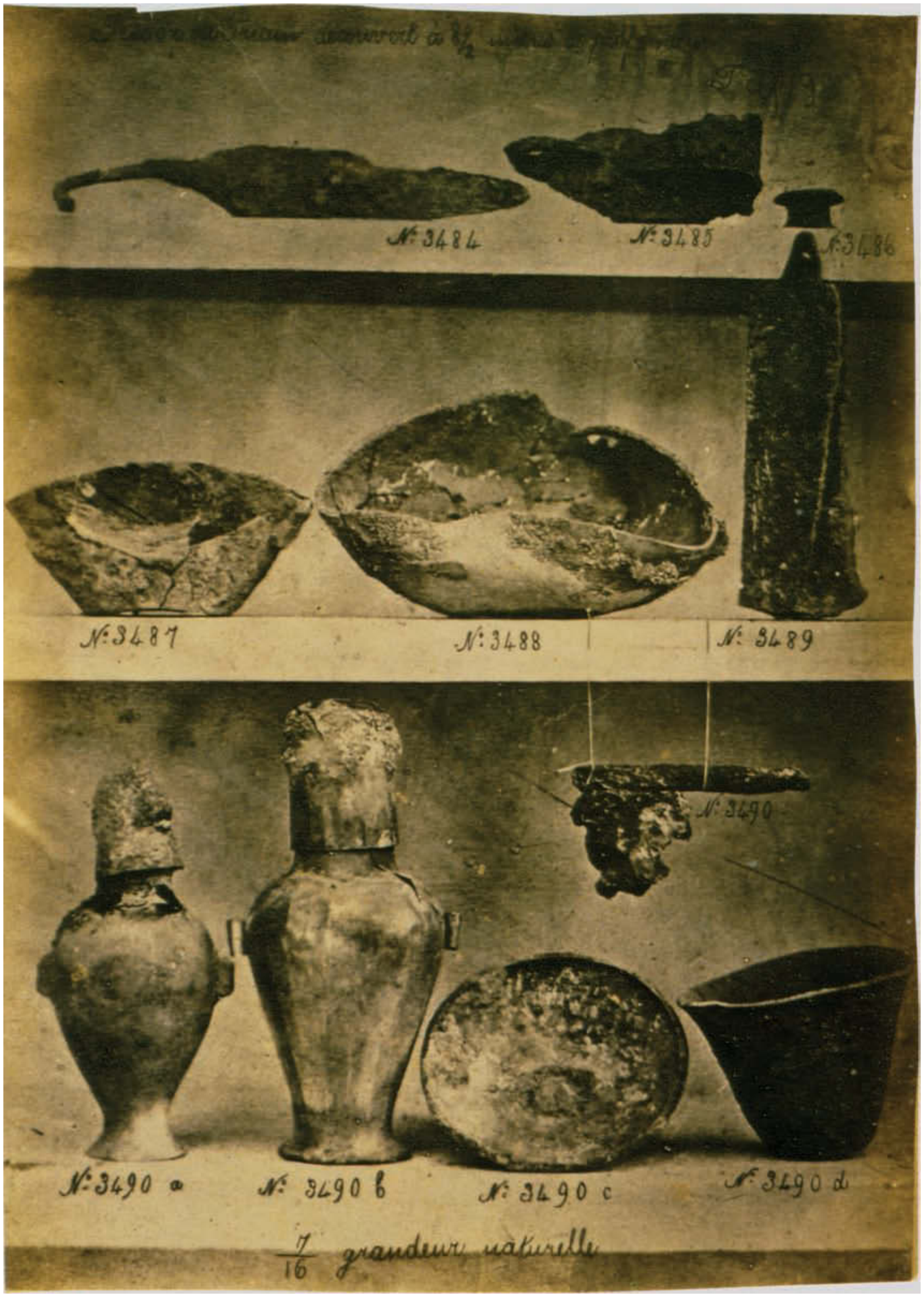


Figure 10.
Panagos T. Zaphiropoulos (Greek, active 1870s), *Trésor de Priam découvert à 8½ metres de profondeur* (Treasure of Priam discovered at a depth of 8½ m), 1872. Albumen silver print, 24.2 × 17.1 cm (9½ × 6¾ in.). From Heinrich Schliemann, *Trojanischer Alterthümer*... (Leipzig, 1874), pl. 192.
GRI 85-B3813.

To accompany his publication *Trojanischer Alterthümer* (1874), Schliemann commissioned four hundred sets of an atlas containing 218 separately mounted, original photographs unveiling the Trojan discoveries (fig. 10). The publication was a best seller, and the atlas doubtless fed the excitement evident in the popular press that the Homeric city of Priam had been brought back to light. Talbot's family letters are filled with the news. Visual proof did not quell suspicions of foul play, voiced by onlookers, including Talbot's daughter Rosamond: "What surprises me most is that such enormous treasures can have remained undisturbed for so many centuries, and then were simply dug out where they were expected to be found."[33] In the murky, poorly focused, and hastily processed prints one detects the overwhelming labor of organizing and meticulously labeling the finds and then producing thousands of photographic prints for the portfolio. The result was a great disappointment to Schliemann, who vowed not to use photography again. Not surprisingly, however, he embraced it to publicize his next great discovery, the shaft graves at Mycenae.[34]

The importance of *Trojanischer Alterthümer* lies in the ambitious circulation of original photographs to illustrate more than thirty-six hundred objects in approximate stratigraphical order, as evidence supporting the author's claims. The plates portray rows of objects disposed on shelves and regularly annotated with the depth in meters at which each was positioned. Most are mundane pots and spindle whorls, repetitions of similar types rather than a selection of normative specimens, but for Schliemann, they were great prizes. This chronological survey of object typology, so central to archaeological interpretation, breaks off with a series of plates showing landscape sketches and views of excavations in progress, with structures coming to light as the layers of the mound of Hissarlik are peeled away. Site and object photographs reinforce the idea of chronological development and the value of stratified artifacts in amplifying ancient literature. "Priam's treasure" is illustrated toward the end of the portfolio, the culmination of an expedition that ceased work immediately thereafter, though here Schliemann's data on depth and location are less than precise.[35] For all their deficits, Siebrecht and Zaphiropoulos' photographs recount a nineteenth-century archaeological epic in a visual vocabulary that became standard for subsequent field-excavation reports.

While Schliemann was eager to vindicate his prehistoric speculations with the camera, other German scholars preferred to turn its lens toward the familiar refinements of Hellenism. The archaeologist Alexander Conze had been on hand for Charles Newton's Halicarnassus exhibition in Rome, but it was several years before he was ready to launch his own excavation. By comparison with the expeditionary photographs of most archaeologists in the eastern Mediterranean, those of Conze are recognized for the exceptional skill devoted to the task of site documentation. Conze excavated at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace in 1873–1875. He commissioned the photographer Wilhelm Burger to take pictures, which were later printed in Munich. Similar to Newton's illustrations of Halicarnassus, the Samothrace series presents site views of trenches with the foundations of the sanctuary appearing just beneath ground level. Tools, but only rarely workmen, are posed beside key features that offer proof of the architectural reconstruction Conze proposed.

As a proponent of grand-scale archaeology, Conze insisted on a rigorously systematic excavation that accorded the humble evidence of material culture its place in the painstaking reconstruction of ancient life. His holistic conception of context is evident in the illustrations, which were distributed as albumen photographs mounted onto the pages of two folio volumes of *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* (1875–1880). His conviction that even fragments contain insight into their creators and must join the monumental evidence of buildings, art, and inscriptions was forward looking. Though Conze is credited with a strictly historicist approach that shifted the attention of German scholars away from their strongly aesthetic and humanistic orientation, the photographs reveal an equal regard for the utilitarian and the beautiful. The image of a fragmentary Ionic capital, mounted and lit as a work of fine art, elevates a carved volute to the status of sculpture (fig. 11).[36]



Figure 11.
WILHELM BURGER
(Austrian, 1844–1920),
Ptolemaion, Bruchstück des Säulenkapitäls, Vorderansicht
(Ptolemaion, fragment of a capital, front view), ca. 1873–1875.
Albumen silver print,
19.1 × 13.3 cm
(7½ × 5¼ in.).
From Alexander Conze,
Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake (Vienna,
1875–1880), pl. XXV.

Picturing the Classical Past

Somewhat different priorities governed photography of classical sites in the western Mediterranean, by virtue of the simple fact that the artistic and literary legacy of Greece and Rome had been subject to Europe's intensive gaze nearly without pause. The weight of this admiration had a singular bearing on how vestiges of the classical legacy were treated. Conze's publication of the remains of Samothrace signaled that a new ideology vis-à-vis classical antiquity had come to preside over its visual representation. Grand feats of ancient engineering and renowned masterpieces of art were among the camera's most compelling subjects, as they had been in the prior graphic tradition. Early Italian photography lingered on the idyllic and meditative, seeking out ruins in pastoral landscapes of the Roman *campagna* and remnants of past empire persisting amid the slow rhythms of urban life (fig. 12).[37] Pictorialist scenes such as that of the Claudian aqueduct stage a vision of antiquity that had been familiar since the idealized mythological landscapes of Claude and Poussin.

Photography competed with standards of visualization that were finely calibrated to subjects — sculpture, painting, and architecture — considered as paradigms of excellence. Unlike the remains of Mesopotamia and Egypt (and in some cases Greece), which had primarily come to light since the early nineteenth century, Graeco-Roman antiquity had been a pillar of European culture since the Renaissance. Its immense corpus of artworks was the touchstone for generations of artists. Ruins were restored to their original state in measured elevations according to the prevailing style of the École des Beaux-Arts, which privileged abstract rules of correct proportion over the way buildings were actually engineered and adapted to use. Academically trained draftsmen interpreted ancient paintings and sculpture in hard contour lines that brought remains softened by the passage of time into sharper focus. In their attempt to render the essence of classical antiquity, they imposed Neoclassical conventions on subjects that were conceived of as models to be emulated rather than as individual specimens to be studied.

Despite the facts that Italy was readily accessible to photographers and that innumerable views were made by travelers and by commercial studios for the tourist trade — or perhaps because of this very iconographic abundance — archaeologists working in Italy did not immediately make use of photography for excavation documentation. Several factors, practical and political, may account for this. Largely under the control of royal or papal authority, antiquity was aligned first and foremost with the interests of state prestige. Restricted access to the results of excavation was official policy, as numerous complaints about the secrecy surrounding finds make clear. Much of the responsibility for drawing rested in the hands of artists and architects. Photographic representation threatened to usurp their stature in the ranks of what was already a highly structured bureaucracy. Volumes of engravings and watercolors depicting fine art treasures, numismatic and epigraphical materials, and "curiosities" circulated mainly among a select constituency of connoisseurs and supported elite practices of collecting and erudition. Well-illustrated guidebooks directed toward a general readership were not common before the 1820s. Accurate illustrations would not be widely distributed until reproductive technologies such as photolithography enabled the generation of multiple high-quality images. The invention of photography fueled the desire for visual knowledge but touched off controversies about the relative artistic merits of mechanical versus manual illustration.[38] In order to maintain the privileged aura of classical subjects, visual representations of them had to negotiate a delicate equilibrium between the aesthetic and the factual, the ideal and the prosaic.

The force of this indelible visual tradition is perceptible in many early photographs of classical subjects. They are picturesque, in the sense of being pictures of pictures.[39] The first camera views of the buried city of Pompeii — daguerreotypes executed by Alexander John Ellis in 1841 — illustrate favored stations along the tourist route, beginning with the Street of the Tombs (fig. 13), where most visitors from Naples approached



Figure 12. ANONYMOUS, *Roma, Acquedotto Claudio sezione lunga con buttero* (Rome, long section of the Claudian aqueduct with herdsman), ca. 1870s? Albumen silver print, 19.6 × 25.6 cm (7¾ × 10⅛ in.). Joseph Armstrong Baird collection of nineteenth-century architectural photographs, GRI 88.R.8, Box 14 (E85.18.166).



Figure 13. ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS (English, 1818–1890), *Pompeii, the West'Side of the Street of the Tombs with the remains of the Ancient Inn and (so called) Herculanean Gate. From the room built for the Custodi in the house called the Villa of Diomed*, April 22, 1841. Daguerreotype, 15.2 × 21 cm (6 × 8¼ in.). National Museum of Film, Photography and Television, Bradford, UK. 1890-0056_PP1.

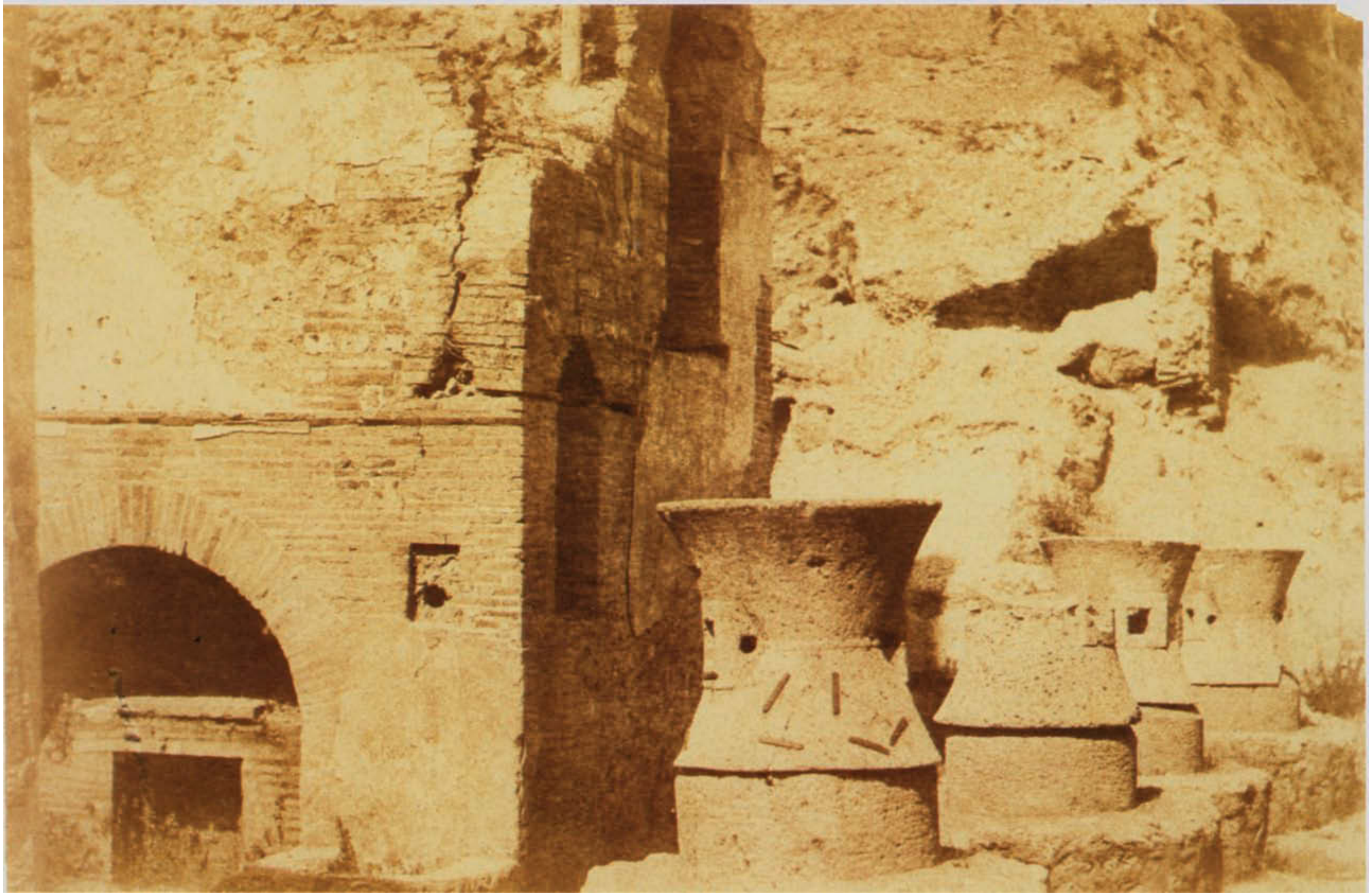


Figure 14. Stefano Lecchi (Italian, b. 1805), *Pompei, Casa del Forno* (Pompeii, Bakery), 1846.
Salted paper print, 14 × 21.6 cm (5½ × 8½ in.). From "Fotografi di Roma 1849," GRI 2002.R.45*.

the site, and continuing through the Forum and Basilica. Ellis's views trace the itinerary of popular guidebooks and pause at scenic overlooks that were often drawn in the preceding decades: forests of broken columns, a receding road bordered by funeral monuments, and Mount Vesuvius looming behind the Temple of Jupiter. Skillfully composed, these daguerreotype views display reciprocal influences between painting and photography. Intending to publish them as engravings in an illustrated monthly magazine, *L'Italia in dagherrotipo*, Ellis hoped that the precision of his daguerreotypes would replace the "mania to embellish" that led artists to distort and aggrandize Roman scenes to the disappointment of travelers.[40] The project did not go forward, and to this we owe the fortunate preservation of unique documents that—like the daguerreotypes of Joly de Lotbinière—might otherwise have been destroyed.

However much they solicit a retrospective glance of nostalgia, photographs must also be viewed in the context of intellectual ferment and political upheavals during an era that placed heavy demands on the patrimony of the past. The activity of the Reverend George Wilson Bridges at Pompeii in 1846 indicates that early on photographs satisfied the self-regard of the royal court at Naples that oversaw the excavations. Bridges wrote to William Henry Fox Talbot that the king was so pleased with his views of Roman frescoes that he gave permission to "copy, move, or measure throughout the Kingdom." This implies a strong official sanction for photography, especially its success in recording fugitive wall paintings, treasured by the Bourbon monarch, that tended to fade soon after exposure. During his Neapolitan sojourn, Bridges encountered an Italian calotypist and entrepreneur, Stefano Lecchi, who had perfected an improved calotype process and was on site with a royal commission to document the excavations: ". . . he makes use of very inferior paper and is more certain of good production—I saw him take 14 one morning at Pompeii without one failure."[41]

Topographical views taken at Pompeii and in the Roman Forum were turned by Lecchi to a very different purpose three years later (fig. 14). Out of context, Lecchi's prints would be counted among the many predictable *vedute* of major monuments that were a specialty of the Roman school of calotypists. Forty-one salted paper prints by Lecchi were assembled in a unique photographic album, combining reportage of the devastation wrought during Garibaldi's 1849 defense of the Janiculum against French and papal forces with pictures of the remains of Rome's past glory. The juxtaposition of ancient and modern ruins served to motivate a cohesive historical identity by invoking symbolic places such as the Forum, the meeting place of revolutionaries and a locus of patriotic spirit in nationalist literature. The owner of the album, a member of the British liberal upper class that favored the goals of the Risorgimento, would have understood the allusions embedded in Lecchi's sequential visual narrative.[42] Here the issues of context and meanings attached by makers and owners highlight the ambiguities and multivalences of photographs that have been considered transparent empirical documents.

Official resolve to initiate comprehensive photographic documentation of Pompeian antiquities was made by the director of the Royal Museum in Naples and superintendent of excavations, the Principe di San Giorgio, Domenico Spinelli, at more or less the same time that strictly archaeological photography and photographic publications were being pursued in other parts of the Mediterranean. "Most interesting news," Giulio Minervini reacted in the December 1853 issue of the *Bullettino Archeologico Napoletano*, reporting that the court had acquired a camera and engaged the services of a photographer named Campanella. For Minervini, recording architectural remains during stratigraphic excavation and rescuing paintings from inevitable destruction were the main advantages of these *preziosi disegni*. He emphasized that photographs should not supplant artists' drawings and watercolor restorations of paintings, which were still vital for capturing the rich polychromy of evanescent pigments. While photography might not be an illuminating way to present "views portraying a complex of buildings," he observed, it is most beneficial when applied "to obtain reproductions of all the details worthy of

study in every part of each building."[43] Competition between artists and photographers is clearly at issue behind Minervini's praise. So, too, were the problems of legibility and the inability to reproduce color, which explains some of the reluctance to entrust architectural studies to the camera alone. His emphasis on accuracy of detail signaled a recent reorientation toward the close analysis of architectonic elements and construction materials.

Foreign scholars anxious to acquire their own photographs of the finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum devised the same idea. The epigrapher Emil Brunn requested permission to make drawings by means of photography of all the objects in the Royal Museum ("Times have changed!" he argued) and, moreover, to move them onto the balconies into the light. His request was denied by Spinelli, and photography inside the museum was prohibited due to the inconvenience to the custodians and the risk to the artworks.[44] The anecdote rings a wryly familiar note. But it also shows that by mid-century, just a decade after Lepsius's failed plan to photograph Egyptian antiquities, the camera was common enough to make itself a nuisance in museums. It was, additionally, an indispensable tool for scholarship and for bolstering national pride. Both depended in no small way on disseminating visual repertoires of two core and particularly photogenic branches of classical archaeology, architecture and sculpture.

Regular use of photography during excavations is a development usually attributed to the work of Pietro Rosa in the Roman Forum and Giuseppe Fiorelli at Pompeii in the 1860s. Archaeological practice in Italy broke new ground during their tenures, when the study of material culture in stratigraphic context became the main goal of excavation. Rosa forwarded views of the Palatine excavations to Napoleon III in 1861, complete with details of decorations, the clearing of the marble pavement of the Domus Flavia, and earth dumps. Abundant visual documentation of the progress of work was one means by which Rosa, a consummate topographer and patriot of the Roman Republic in 1849, nourished the emperor's shared passion for Roman history. Rosa's recovery of the palaces of the Caesars—the seat of "that great history which, common to the civilization of all nations, serves as the foundation of true classical education"—found warm favor with a monarch who, in the preface to his *Histoire de Jules César* (1865–1866), proclaimed that "historical truth should be no less sacred than religion."[45]

Likewise, Giuseppe Fiorelli shared with senior cultural administrators the excitement of his most sensational discovery. Imprints of human bodies encased in the volcanic mud of Vesuvius were reconstituted by injecting plaster into the cavities that were left once organic remains had decayed. A clever forensic procedure, casts put a face to the past, albeit with figures frozen at the last moments of life (fig. 15). In the hands of the tourist-voyeur, cadaver photographs licensed a morbid spectacle of writhing victims that were de rigeur in souvenir albums. Fiorelli approached them in the positivist spirit of science, which revolutionized excavation and museum practices at one of the paramount classical sites. For both Rosa and Fiorelli, the professional study of antiquity was inseparable from the progressive ideals of the new Italian nation.[46]

Pictorial conventions attuned to aesthetic appreciation had to accommodate a different set of theoretical and practical issues raised by archaeologists and architects who set out to recover Rome's built past. This was a past to be rediscovered and, moreover, to be renovated. In several of the instances noted above, photographs of architectural monuments were deployed to communicate a spirit of renewal, in which antiquity was a proxy for modernization. Two impulses characterize approaches to ancient structures that were embraced at this time: cataloging the variety of building types and construction techniques as registers of cultural progress, and inventorying the national cultural patrimony in order to preserve it for posterity.

Defining the unique vocabulary of ancient architecture that might serve as a signpost for the present galvanized the group of architects in the circle of Léon Vaudoyer and Félix Duban, active in Paris from the 1820s to the middle of the century. Italy was their architectural laboratory. Known as the "romantics," Vaudoyer and fellow *pensionnaires* at the French Academy traveled outside of Rome to measure and draw unconventional building types, from prehistoric megaliths, Etruscan tombs, and the Greek temples of Sicily, to Byzantine and medieval churches. They were concerned less with abstract



Figure 15. Fratelli Amodio (Italian, active 1860s–1870s), *Pompei, empreinte humaine un esclave, fouilles 1863* (Pompeii, human imprint, a slave, 1863 excavations), ca. 1873. Albumen silver print, 20.3 × 25.4 cm (8 × 10 in.). From "Pompei, détruite à 23 novembre 79 Empire Néron découverte en 1748," GRI 91.R.2.

ideals than with historical truth in the archaeological sense, examining the materials, structural principles, and ornament used on a wide range of civic and sacred building types from different regions and periods. With the aid of the camera lucida (an optical shortcut that traditionalists rejected as contrary to the spirit of artistic intuition), they explored the notion that architecture was the built expression of customs and beliefs not recorded in texts: *Les monuments sont la véritable écriture des peuples* (Monuments are the true writing of a people).[47]

The dawn of photography coincided with this break from the established curriculum of architectural training. Members of this group experimented with daguerreotypes and promoted the employment of photographers by the Historic Monuments Commission in Paris. The commission launched the Mission Héliographique in 1851, a project to survey France's architectural legacy and place it under the protection of the nation.[48] A programmatic response to the perception that repeatedly echoes in the literature of ruins and travel—that the past was vanishing through neglect and greed—the mission endeavored to reformulate history around landmarks of memory and thereby to nurture a unified territorial identity. Medieval churches, monasteries, and provincial chateaux accompany Roman-era temples in documentary views by Hippolyte Bayard, Édouard-Denis Baldus, Henri Le Secq, Mestral, and Gustave Le Gray. Valuing the neglected patrimony of old France over that of distant ancient cultures, their project resembled enterprises such as *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* by Baron Taylor.[49] But for reasons both philosophical and pragmatic, the camera contributed to the demise of this lavish genre of travel literature. With its all-encompassing detail, the specificity of the photograph was a valuable complement to manually drawn plans and so was crucial to the demands of research and preservation.

In theory and practice, restoration of threatened heritage had been the governing directive of Roman archaeologists since the years of Napoleonic rule early in the century.[50] A comprehensive initiative such as the Mission Héliographique was not yet a state mandate in pre-Risorgimento Italy, but a preservation mentality clearly informed archaeological investigations, particularly in Rome. Restoration is the central theme of the first photographically illustrated archaeological publication in Italy, Pompeo Bondini's *Della Via Appia e dei sepolcri degli antichi romani* (1853).[51] Undertaken independently following excavation and cleaning operations sponsored by the Vatican and supervised by Luigi Canina, most of the photographs are frontal shots that expose building phases and fabrics of funerary monuments. In addition to the tract of the Via Appia from Porta San Sebastiano to the Tomb of Cecilia Metella—a zone closely associated with early Christian history and the tombs of martyrs—Bondini includes other examples of funerary monuments in the city (Castel Sant'Angelo, the Pyramid of Caius Cestius) that had been subject to papal intervention in the past. In the course of an innovative restoration project, Canina clarified in situ remains, segregated them from private property, and recreated the original ambience of Rome's most picturesque road. Bondini's visual itinerary celebrates the inauguration of a protected metaphorical space (later a public archaeological park), where the pagan, early Christian, and modern cities intersected and were reintegrated under progressive papal stewardship.

The sense of architecture as containing what in Girault de Prangey's words is "the still-living history" of a people inscribed on its walls motivated several ambitious campaigns to survey monumental heritage in Italy. Giorgio Sommer and John Henry Parker collaborated on a topographical examination of Rome, a project in which a number of Italian photographers were engaged. Parker was a specialist in medieval architecture, and, like many of his contemporaries, he had been influenced by John Ruskin's attitudes toward preservation and by the role that photography might play. In Rome he joined the circle of archaeologists that included Fiorelli, Rosa, and Rodolfo Lanciani, who broke new ground in reconstructing the historical topography of ancient Italy. Parker's comprehensive nine-volume publication, *The Archæology of Rome* (1874–1877), described the main categories of remains—walls, aqueducts, catacombs, fora—and illustrated them with original photographs taken by several photographers under his direction during campaigns begun in 1864. His views are rigorously objective studies of architectural history, which enable a rereading of Roman chronology in the bricks and mortar of decaying walls.



Figure 16. Carlo Baldassare Simelli, attr. (Italian, active 1850s–1870s), Walls of Rome near Porta S. Paolo and pyramid of Caius Cestius, 1864–1866. Albumen silver print, 18 × 24 cm (7⅛ × 9½ in.). From the Parker collection of photographs of ancient Roman architecture and sculpture, GRI 80.R.1.



Figure 17. Giorgio Sommer (German, 1834–1914, active Italy), *Pompei, Teatro Greco* (Pompeii, the Greek Theater), ca. 1860s. Hand-colored albumen silver print, 20.5 × 25.5 cm (8⅛ × 10 in.). GRI 2003.R.14.*

Over three thousand photographs of every aspect of the Roman architectural legacy were the result.

While they must be considered primarily study prints as opposed to artistic images, the Parker archive records priceless information on the state of the remains at a time when intensive excavation and the politics of nationhood were transforming the urban face of Rome. Majestic examples of Roman design and engineering skill are present, but they are shown from perspectives that include surrounding structures, streets, and fields (fig. 16). Integral to the life of the city and countryside, ruins are contextualized within the landscape, not as part of an "imaginative geography," but as the repositories of true history and the spirit of place.[52]

Documentation of Pompeii was also incorporated in the Parker archive and may be attributable to Giorgio Sommer, who is thought to have been connected to Parker's Rome project. Sommer established himself in Naples and conducted an extensive photo survey of Pompeii and its remains beginning in 1860. The site posed challenges very different from Rome's theatrically panoramic settings. As Minervini implied, the Vesuvian cities were difficult to encompass in an overall perspective. With its profusion of textured walls and successions of rooms and atria preserved only to partial height, the dense urban plan of Pompeii confounded the goal of producing comprehensible illustrations. Elsewhere, monumental Greek and Roman buildings were more advantageously sited and could be shown in romantic isolation.

Sommer authored standardized views taken from the usual vantage points tailored especially to the *Bildungsreise* of German tourists, an educational tour that took in art, antiquities, landscape, and genre scenes of colorful locals and vernacular traditions. This focus expanded his practice into the most successful studio in Naples. Collaboration with the eminent Giuseppe Fiorelli established him as a premier architectural photographer and resulted in a comprehensive illustration of all the major parts of the excavations of Pompeii and the museum collections in Naples. Sommer's views are recognized, above all, for their accuracy and archaeological attention to contextual data. They consciously reject pictorial strategies and show the remains of houses frontally and from close up, demonstrating the function of rooms as lived-in domestic spaces.[53] His visual approach paralleled the advances in excavation methodology that Fiorelli inaugurated and functioned as a bridge between archaeological practice and its popular audiences.

Sommer's studio was particularly distinguished for the colorists who applied watercolors to black-and-white prints, enhancing the realism of photographic surrogates and allowing the viewer better to experience the site as it really was (fig. 17). Perhaps the most riveting aspect of the rediscovery of the Vesuvian cities was the vision of antiquity in full color: frescoes, mosaics, and painted plaster liberally applied to building surfaces to an extent not witnessed previously. This feature dominates the drawings of architects such as Vaudoyer and his colleagues, who drew inspiration from the vitality of polychrome architecture.[54] The intensity of the pigments at the moment of discovery, the promised access to lost originals of Greek painting, and the problems of preservation once paintings were exposed to the elements are leitmotifs of contemporary scholarship. Replicating the colors of antiquity with hand-applied tints overcame the deficits of sepia-toned photographs, particularly in the case of wall paintings, which could be reproduced in rich beaux-arts hues. This procedure also beautified frescoes in the eyes of critics who were disappointed with the lack of quality and decorum displayed on Pompeian walls. Sommer distributed an album dedicated to painting reproductions, which—like other *com' è, com'era* photographic publications—blurred the lines between art and photography.[55]







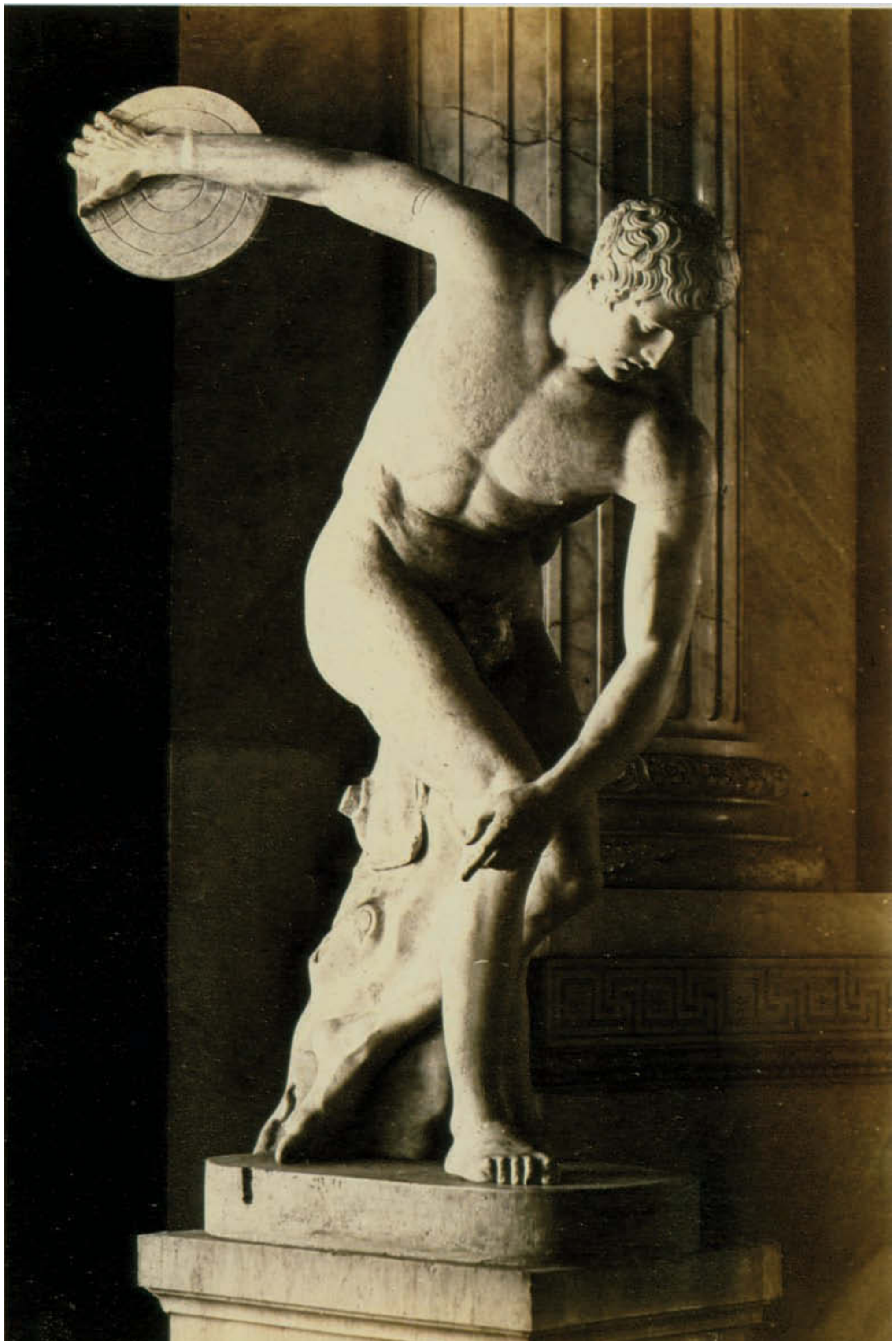
Figure 18.
JOHN SAMUEL AGAR (British, ca. 1770–ca. 1835), "The Townley Discobolus," ca. 1809. Pencil on paper, 29.5 × 22.4 cm (11⅝ × 8⅞ in.). From Society of Dilettanti, drawings and letters, ca. 1806–ca. 1840, GRI 840199*.

PHOTOGENIC FRAGMENTS

AS THE EFFORTS OF William Henry Fox Talbot demonstrate, reproduction of the fine arts from an artistic perspective was deemed a central pursuit of professional photographers from the outset. Photographs of paintings and sculpture helped to convert connoisseurs into art historians, as we may see by comparing depictions of classical statuary at several key junctures. *Specimens of Antient Sculpture*, published by the Society of Dilettanti between 1809 and 1835, was a tour de force in the genre of the illustrated art book.[56] Commissioned by and for aristocratic aficionados of the antique, its plates present premier marble and bronze statues that had come to English private collections in the wake of grand-tour collecting. Engravings retain all the artistry of original pencil drawings in the subtle shading that contours the figures. Applauded as high points of reproductive art for their delicacy and likeness to life, the plates closely resemble the original statues as we have come to know them through photography.

Between the time, around 1809, when John Samuel Agar drew the famous statue from the Townley Collection of an athlete launching a discus (now at the British Museum) and ca. 1862 when the Scottish photographer Robert Macpherson reproduced the Vatican's copy of it, much thought had been devoted to the question of how best to depict ancient sculpture, as well as to the experience of viewing it. Both the drawing and the photograph show the figure in oblique perspective, illuminated to emphasize the vigorous *contrapposto* of the twisting body in the most advantageous profile. Drawings and prints bound in deluxe folios were destined for an elite readership whose taste and learning were finely cultivated. Townley and his peers were steeped in the ancient literary accounts that appraised the Discobolus in terms of its rhythm and proportions. The collector's judgment on the position of the head is echoed in Agar's perspective (fig. 18). Despite ancient testimony that the head was originally turned to look back toward the discus, Townley accepted contemporary authority for its forward position, which outlines the face in a more appropriately classical profile.[57]

Figure 19.
ROBERT
MACPHERSON
(Scottish, 1811–1872),
The Discobolus of
Myron, ca. 1862.
Albumen silver print,
31.4 × 25 cm
(12⅜ x 9⅞ in.). From
"Macpherson's Vatican
Sculptures" (1863?),
GRI 91.R.3.



Statues, antique or cast in plaster, were ideal models for the camera, as Talbot explained in *The Pencil of Nature*.[58] Monochromatic yet luminous, they could be easily illuminated in daylight, posed, and moved to achieve the right effect. The possibilities offered by three-dimensional artworks attracted photographers immediately and made possible a wide range of visual encounters. The typical vantage point is that taken in one of the earliest photographic images of the Townley Discobolus, made by Roger Fenton about 1857 as part of a photo documentation campaign of the British Museum's antiquities collections. Fenton's study situates the statue in the foreground of a long colonnaded gallery, slightly off axis, its classic male physique posed as if standing at the pinnacle of a procession of archaic Assyrian sculptures. One is tempted to read this juxtaposition ideologically, in terms of "progress," particularly since the statue appears to have been moved to this location temporarily.[59] Illustrations of Myron's Discobolus, mass produced by photographers such as James Anderson, Giacomo Brogi, and the Alinari studio, codified Fenton's portrayal in what would become the standardized view: The figure is presented at its greatest lateral breadth, with legs and arms shown in profile and torso squarely frontal, to form the most immediately legible contour of an iconic type.

Robert Macpherson, a painter and art dealer in Rome, considered himself no less an artist in the photography of sculpture. In 1863, he published *Vatican Sculptures*,[60] which illustrates the most famous statues in their gallery settings. His work employs carefully controlled illumination to enhance the chiaroscuro effect of light and shadow. Photographed against an architectural backdrop, the Vatican Discobolus is shown slightly more frontally than in Agar's drawing (fig. 19). Dramatic backlighting emphasizes the arc of the arms that balance the pivoting figure at the moment before its pirouette. The image paints a physical and psychological portrait of an individual athlete to create an expectant impression of movement held in check.

Macpherson's project was one of several that were launched around mid-century to create illustrated repertoires of museum collections, including campaigns by Roger Fenton in the British Museum, Adolphe Braun (Vatican and Louvre), Giorgio Sommer (Naples), and the Alinari studio (Florence).[61] During this seminal period, professional institutions devoted to a rigorous study of antiquity were taking shape. The Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, launched in Rome in 1829, advocated modern analytical approaches to artifacts under the mantle of "monumental philology." Foreign schools of archaeology such as the French School in Athens were established (1846) as platforms for the reconnaissance of sites and monuments. In various branches of archaeology, Egyptology, and ancient art, university chairs were founded, and teaching was configured around comprehensive collections of books, casts, and illustrations. Museums were enriched under the auspices of these academic enterprises, by large-scale excavations, and by the fruits of wholesale colonialist appropriation. Their collections had to be ordered and catalogued. Although each of these scholarly discourses entailed firsthand scrutiny of forms, functions, and styles, they were even more dependent upon a shared body of comparative images. The emphasis on visualizing material fact sent archaeological research down new paths, as Alain Schnapp has noted, freeing it "from the primacy of texts over monuments, from the cult of the work of art in favor of the history of material culture, from the centrality of universal history in favor of the diversity of regional and local histories."[62]

The growth of photograph collections of ancient sculpture, painted vases, and other genres of art and material culture shaped the conduct of art history and archaeology as we know it today. For art historians, the expanding "fototeca" at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome (which emerged from the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica), as well as similar visual libraries at other foreign schools and research centers, became indispensable tools.[63] Photographic archives were intended to replace collections of prints and drawings in order to systematize sculptures and other works of art as objects of classification. Image collections offered the groundwork for plotting the evolution of art and artifacts over time and for integrating them within their architectural and stratigraphical contexts. Photography was an essential precondition for the critical and formal analysis of style, dating, and attribution—that is, for making sense of the great body of finds from all parts of the ancient world. Photographs that soon illustrat-

ed books and filled archives were more real, less open to whim or artistic fancy than drawings and engravings that for earlier generations had constituted the "paper museum."

As the instance of the Discobolus shows, different photographers depicted features of sculpture in ways that emphasized them as aesthetic expressions, as iconographical types, and as the vehicles of moral values, latent or explicit. The great advantage of the camera was its ability to view statues from different perspectives that mutually reinforce each of these modes of reception. To be sure, multilateral imaging also posed a disadvantage, in that flat representations of subjects in the round could create very different impressions depending on angle and lighting. Filtered through the eyes of photographers, audience preconceptions, sociopolitical conditions, and the limitations of the medium itself, photographic representations could misrepresent. How the imagery of antiquity was assembled, selectively framed, and utilized in reconstructing the past can thus be charted along tracks that both parallel and sharply diverge from the institutional goals of archaeology as a positivist science.

Eduard Gerhard, a founder of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome, envisioned the outcome of the visual reorganization of antiquity in his dictum *Monumentorum artis quis unum vidit, nullum vidit, quis millia vidit, unum vidit:* He who sees one monument of art, sees none, he who sees thousands, sees one.[64] Today, it is hard to imagine the synthetic study of antiquity without the aid of the photograph. Instrumentalized vision of the kind that it promised was fundamental to the spirit of empirical inquiry. As a tool of excavation and study, it reoriented archaeology from texts to the material world of objects. Yet, as soon became evident, the camera registered more than simply the physical likeness of its subjects. Photography emerged as a bridge between earlier illustrative techniques, such as drawing, and the modern practices of observation. Like the study of Mediterranean antiquity itself, photography commingled documentary procedure and aesthetic experience. The outcome was a seductively powerful visual medium, which, together with its very pervasiveness, extended the reach of antiquity as a moral and scientific authority.

Gerhard's "one" turned out to be many things to many people. By materializing history as heritage, archaeological photography was instrumental in formulating conceptions of cultural identity and nationhood. Photogenic fragments from classical and biblical lands painted a picture of the past that colored perceptions of ancient civilizations and their modern heirs in India, East Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Central to the issue of visualizing antiquity is not simply the fact that the camera offered a truthful way to record reality and the changes wrought by time—important as this is—but also that its alluring realism succeeded in validating ideas that had such far-reaching consequences for society at large.

IN PERFECT ORDER: ANTIQUITY IN THE DAGUERREOTYPES OF JOSEPH-PHILIBERT GIRAULT DE PRANGEY

Lindsey S. Stewart

On August 19, 1839, members of the Académie des sciences and of the Académie des Beaux-Arts listened attentively as the scientist François Arago revealed details of Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's extraordinary new invention. Three hours before the meeting even began, a crowd had gathered outside the Institut de France in Paris, eager to learn more about how Daguerre was creating his astonishing images.[1] Members of the academies and the public alike had for months anticipated and speculated about these forthcoming revelations. Some had actually seen original examples of the inventor's work, while others knew only what they had read in newspapers and journals. Now, they would learn the particulars behind a tantalizing announcement made eight months earlier, in January of that year.

Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey may have been present to hear Arago's explanations that day. He was a talented artist who welcomed technical innovations and could well have made a point of being in Paris to attend an event of this importance. Perhaps it was there and then that he became inspired to embark upon his own daguerreotype adventures. Paris was one of the first cities he photographed, making fine large views in 1841. Then, between 1842 and 1845, he traveled thousands of miles and produced hundreds of architectural daguerreotypes, including the earliest extant photographs from Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt, and Palestine. This enormous contribution exceeds that of any other scenic daguerreotypist—



and possibly even of most mid-nineteenth-century photographers. In terms of both the quantity and quality of surviving output from the years before 1845, perhaps only the works of William Henry Fox Talbot and the partnership of Hill and Adamson compare. Yet despite being one of the foremost photographers of this early period, the man remains something of an enigma.

> *Allow me, then, to introduce Joseph-Philibert* GIRAULT DE PRANGEY, *the son of Claude-Joseph* III *Girault et de Barbe de Piétrequin de Prangey, born at Langres, 21 October 1804, died at the villa of Courcelles, 7 December, 1892, and the last of the line.*[2]

More than forty years after Girault de Prangey died, the Count de Simony thus succinctly "introduced" him—a bright, bold artist whose images of ancient Mediterranean sites are the subject of this essay. From the same account we learn that his contemporaries rarely mentioned him without characterizing him as "eccentric." A descendant of the Piétrequin family, among the oldest and most distinguished in the region, he was an intellectual and, apparently, a highly private individual.[3] One "eminent personality" cited by Count de Simony acknowledged that although Girault de Prangey was a well-educated and talented draftsman who produced remarkable lithographs, he was also surly, sarcastic, and unsociable.[4] Perhaps this was the artist's obituarist, Henry Brocard, who described a similar personality but nonetheless recognized him as a man of taste and a wise critic who was often lively.[5]

Educated in the small northeastern French town of Langres and in Paris, he earned his *Diplôme de Bachelier ès Lettres* (bachelor of arts) in 1826 and *Diplôme de Bachelier en Droit* (bachelor of law) two years later.[6] These academic accomplishments were limited compared with his avid interest in, and knowledge of, archaeology, antiquities, Islamic arts and architecture, photography, and horticulture. For example, when he remodeled his villa near Langres in the 1850s, he incorporated Islamic elements in the design and tamed a tract of wild land, transforming it into an elaborately terraced garden with glasshouses where he cultivated rare plants and kept exotic birds.[7] Surviving evidence suggests that he approached everything he studied with a passionate, even obsessive, rigor and a profound desire to research and protect the artistic endeavors of previous generations and of cultures distinctly different from his own.

In 1836 he became a founding member of the Commission archéologique de Langres, later renamed the Société historique et archéologique de Langres. Under his influence, one of the organization's first successes was the establishment in 1838 of a museum of antiquities in the Gothic chapel of Saint Didier, to which the valuable treasures of the small town were moved. A lithograph of the interior of Saint Didier made from a Girault de Prangey drawing was reproduced in the first volume of the *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* (fig. 1).[8]

Until recently, Girault de Prangey was recognized mainly for his fine measured drawings and historical account of the Islamic architecture of southern Spain; it remains a standard reference work.[9] Now, however, his rightful position as an early master of photography has come to light. As the scion of a wealthy family, he was able to indulge his varied interests, apparently without having to earn a living. The earliest date to appear on any of his surviving daguerreotypes is 1841, probably the year he began experimenting seriously with Daguerre's invention. The 1841 daguerreotypes tend to be of subjects close to home, such as his villa and the surrounding landscape, or in nearby or relatively accessible towns and cities, such as Langres, Troyes, Chaumont, and, as noted, Paris.

In 1842 Girault de Prangey embarked on an extended Mediterranean tour that lasted until early 1845 and included the great sites of classical, Egyptian, and Islamic architecture, straddling the Mediterranean from Marseille to the Levant and the Nile as far as the First Cataract. Over this period he produced a body of work comprising between eight hundred and a thousand daguerreotypes, a feat now gaining recognition as one of the great artistic undertakings of the earliest days of photography.[10]

Figure 1.
The interior of the antiquities museum in Langres. Lithograph, 25.1 × 18.4 cm (9⅞ × 7¼ in.) from a drawing by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey. From *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* (Langres, 1850), pl. 1.





Figure 2.
Baron Armand Pierre Séguier (French, 1803–1876), Still Life with Plaster Casts, 1839–1842. Daguerreotype, 21.6 × 16.2 cm (8½ × 6⅜ in.). JPGM 2002.41.

The year photography was introduced, Girault de Prangey was thirty-five and had completed a tour of Andalusia in Spain, among the poorest and least developed areas in Europe. He had closely scrutinized surviving examples of Moorish architecture there and had produced informative drawings, including plans, sections, elevations, and details. To these he added interiors and views situating the architecture within its urban context or against its natural landscape, as well as views of animals and people engaged in everyday activities. When these drawings were published as lithographs, between 1836 and 1839, Girault de Prangey expressed a preference in his introduction for a particular approach to the subject. "However, to its modern palaces, the modern beauties of Granada," he wrote, "we prefer its wooden houses with their patios shaded by bushes and vines, its embroidery, its delicate adornments and, above all, its monuments, which bear the imprint of the genius of a nation which left nowhere as here such brilliant traces of its elevated civilisation."[11]

He was thinking about embarking on an extensive "grand tour" when, during the first week of 1839, François Arago made the initial announcement of Daguerre's invention to the Académie des sciences.[12] As mentioned, it is not certain how Girault de Prangey first learned about the daguerreotype process. He may even have read the *Gazette de France* the day before Arago's announcement and seen the following sentence: "For a few hundred francs travellers may perhaps soon be able to procure M. Daguerre's apparatus, and bring back views of the finest monuments and of the most delightful scenery of the whole world."[13]

News traveled fast after Arago's more detailed presentation at the Institut de France that August, and exponents of the new art were soon offering demonstrations and lessons.[14] Manuals, much in demand, were printed and reprinted in many languages before the year was out. However, personal tutoring by someone who had mastered the process was more helpful. Despite Arago's claim on behalf of Daguerre that it was quite simple to make successful daguerreotypes, this proved in practice to be false; many keen experimenters were disappointed with their poor results.[15]

Jules Ziegler, who was to become a painter and ceramicist, was an exact contemporary of Girault de Prangey in Langres. An early enthusiast of photography, he was among the founding members of the French Société héliographique and a friend of Hippolyte Bayard.[16] Ziegler reportedly made many daguerreotypes, including artists' studies of the male nude.[17] Bayard was one of the earliest to experiment with photography, inventing a direct-positive process on paper that he exhibited in June 1839.[18] In the absence of other evidence, it seems plausible that Ziegler, and possibly Bayard, may have provided Girault de Prangey with his initial instruction in photographic technique.

During the early days of the medium, exposure times were so slow that the most popular subjects for photographers were architecture and still life (fig. 2). In 1839 Daguerre himself made architectural views in Paris as well as studies of sculpture and casts and a still-life image of fossils and shells. Others, such as François-Alphonse Fortier and Baron Armand Pierre Séguier, also produced large still-life daguerreotypes in the first years of the invention.[19] Girault de Prangey's 1841 daguerreotypes of Paris architecture remain among the earliest made of a city that would be daguerreotyped more than any other.[20]

Alphonse Giroux was the manufacturer first approved by Daguerre for making the necessary apparatus, with lenses to be supplied by the optical-instrument makers Vincent and Charles Chevalier. When Arago revealed details of the invention to the public in August 1839, Giroux sold his entire stock of the apparatus immediately.[21] The first daguerreotype outfits, designed to take "whole-plate" images (16 × 22 cm, or, 6½ × 8½ in.), were heavy, bulky, and expensive. Simple lenses had not yet been modified specifically for photography, and initially, efforts were concentrated on shortening exposure times, mainly to facilitate daguerreotype portraiture. In 1840 Joseph Petzval of Vienna formed a compound lens with four glass elements and a larger aperture, an invention that greatly increased the amount of light transmitted and, therefore, sped up exposures. A reduction of the plate size meant that the lens could also be smaller; the whole apparatus, lighter and more compact; and the exposures shorter. Chevalier worked on improving lenses to this effect, while others, such as Baron Séguier, an

amateur, adapted Daguerre's original designs to produce lighter and more portable equipment. Séguier is also credited with inventing, in late 1839, the photographic tripod, an essential device for photographers working in the field, where exposures could take several minutes.[22]

From his earliest known daguerreotypes, it is obvious that Girault de Prangey worked with a custom-made camera, which was even larger than the norm; it allowed a maximum plate size of about 19 × 24 cm (7½ × 9½ in.).[23] This unusually generous format, as well as the smaller formats he created by subdividing his large plates, is striking when compared with other French outdoor scenes produced around the same time.

It was difficult enough to haul a bulky daguerreotype camera and its associated paraphernalia onto the streets of Paris from one's studio or apartment to photograph the Seine. It was considerably more arduous to embark on a lengthy overseas journey with quantities of personal luggage and unwieldy drawing and photographic equipment. Remarkably, Girault de Prangey was not the only early daguerreotypist to undertake such a project.[24] Among those stalwart few who returned from far-off locales with daguerreotype treasures to show was Jules Itier, who in 1844 traveled as far as China. No other daguerreotypist, however, completed a mission as ambitious as that of Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey.

Armed with an abundance of equipment and metal plates, Girault de Prangey set sail from Marseille, where he made a small number of daguerreotypes. Upon reaching Italy, he began working in earnest. In an April 1843 letter to Désiré-Raoul Rochette, secretary of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, he describes having worked *sans relâche* (without respite) for three months in Rome before moving on to Athens.[25] An analysis of the daguerreotypes he produced in Rome reveals that the work he did at the beginning of his travels was equal in both technical and aesthetic expertise to all that followed.

From his inventory numbers it is evident that Girault de Prangey produced some twenty-seven images in a panoramic format (approximately 9.5 × 24 cm; 3¹¹⁄₁₆ × 9⁷⁄₁₆ in.) while in Rome, including views made outside the city—at Tivoli and Bracciano. Panoramic photography was popular with later photographers, who had the benefit of specially designed cameras. Girault de Prangey had to adapt the available equipment. Two of his panoramas laid side by side along their long edges are the same size as the photographer's whole plate, indicating that he cut the plates to suit his requirements.[26] This unorthodox approach indicates how the photographer tailored his equipment to achieve specific effects. Equally inventive was his use of the panorama in a vertical orientation in order to emphasize details such as the minarets on mosques in Cairo.

A detail view of the so-called Temple of Vesta (today called simply "the circular temple") in Rome is emblematic of Girault de Prangey's art (fig. 3). This petite, Corinthian-columned circular structure on the banks of the Tiber had long been recognized as a gem of Roman antiquity, despite the fact that it was missing such significant components as an entablature and roof. Andrea Palladio described and illustrated the temple in his *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (The four books of architecture), the immensely influential sourcebook for Palladianism that was published in 1570; and in the eighteenth century, Giovanni Battista Piranesi engraved an image of it. In contrast to Palladio's refined architectural drawings, Piranesi shows the building well worn and in use, with a church bell on the roof and the paraphernalia of everyday life cluttering the foreground. Girault de Prangey's daguerreotype reveals, for the first time in detail and with the benefit of sunshine and chemistry, how the Corinthian capitals atop the temple's columns really looked in 1842.

Although we lack an account by Girault de Prangey of his photographic modus operandi, it is obvious that here he reveled in the sheer architectural beauty of the graceful columns and the smooth curves repeated in the wall, the roofline, and even the carving of the capitals. Like Palladio and Piranesi before him, the photographer has edited his view to suit his own vision. The hurly-burly of Piranesi's Rome has vanished. Likewise absent are the interpretive improvements of Palladio's renderings, in which the entablature and roof are restored. The clarity of this photographic image depends as much on what the Frenchman has chosen to omit—most pointedly, the building's urban surroundings—as on what he has included. In aiming his lens slightly upward, he has deleted extraneous background detail and revealed the generous curve of the roofline. The shal-

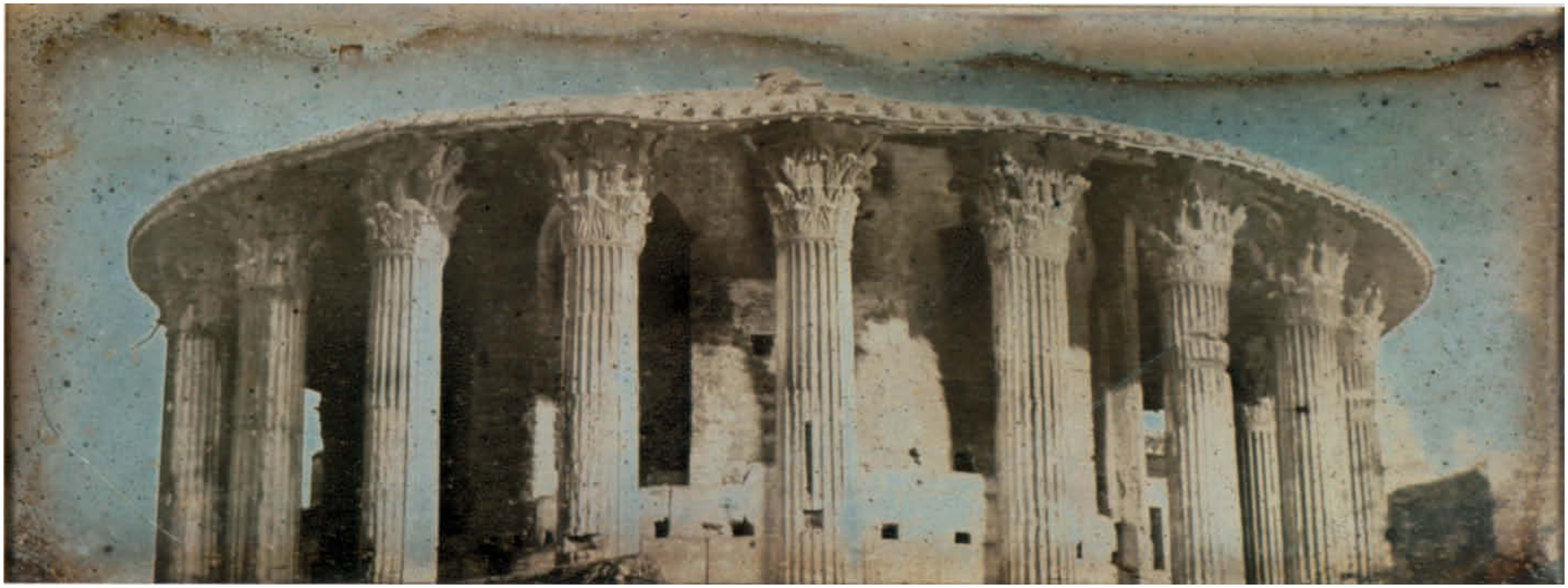


Figure 3. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *Rome. Temple de Vesta* (Rome, Temple of Vesta), 1842. Daguerreotype, 9.4 × 24 cm (3 11/16 × 9 7/16 in.). JPGM 2003.82.1.

low, conical tiled roof (a post-Classical addition) is just visible, protecting the elongated, ribbed column shafts and their elaborate Corinthian capitals. Although the roof confirms the circular plan of the building, it remains a minimal intervention rather than a dominant feature.

Sunlight creates the image, but shadow reveals the form. Contemporary critics complained of a lack of color in daguerreotypes, but certain colors could appear in the plate; for example, a slight overexposure of the sky, easily accomplished (or not easily avoided) when seeking detail in other areas, could produce the pale-blue sky tone seen in this picture.

Leaving Rome, Girault de Prangey sailed on to Greece, stopping briefly on the Aegean island of Syra (Syros), where he made at least three daguerreotypes. In Athens he took advantage of the renowned clear light and created approximately seventy daguerreotypes, more than half of which were in his largest plate size. His subjects included not only the ruins of the Acropolis and other ancient monuments but also Byzantine churches, cathedrals, and the monastery at Daphne.[27]

Although the Tower of the Winds (properly known as the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes) is not one of the grandest ancient Greek buildings, it is certainly one of the most idiosyncratic and influential (fig. 4). When James Stuart and Nicholas Revett compiled the first volume of *The Antiquities of Athens*, published in 1762, they devoted nineteen plates and thirteen pages of text to this distinctive structure. Girault de Prangey made several daguerreotypes of the tower, in different sizes. For the present example, he used his smallest plate size. The result is a surprisingly expansive view, establishing the tower in its urban context, with the city spreading out toward the distant mountains.

Photographs made in the mid-1850s of the same subject show little change. By the late 1870s, however, the area near the Tower of the Winds had been further excavated to reveal the full height of the monument on its stepped base.[28] Girault de Prangey was fascinated by trees. He photographed examples of mature deciduous species on his estate in France, and during his travels he focused on cypresses in Italy, date palms in Egypt, plane trees in Turkey, and, of course, the cedars of Lebanon.[29] In his view of the Tower of the Winds, the dark, isolated palm commands attention, but the half-buried arches in the center-foreground direct attention back to the well-preserved tower.

In another picture from this group, the emphasis is again on the tower's surroundings, including a conspicuous tree (fig. 5). The smaller daguerreotype (see fig. 4) has the classic stillness and clarity most often associated with the long exposures of the mid-nineteenth century—a sense of calm accentuated by the harmonious arrangement of the main elements in the center and the gradual softening of focus away from the subject. In the larger study (see fig. 5), however, the unusual framing of the image creates a sense of tension. The ostensible subject appears only minimally on the right, led by a jagged patch of shade, and the edges dominate in a way that seems more typical of a modern snapshot.

To capture the most celebrated aspect of the monument, Girault de Prangey used the same format to create another of his innovative close-up details, again laterally reversed (fig. 6). The continuous frieze depicts the eight winds, one on each face of the octagonal tower. Here we see the remains of the east wind, Apeliotes, on the left, holding a harvest of fruit, grain, and honey, with Euros, the southeast wind, on the right. Girault de Prangey angled his lens slightly upward to pick out the faceted outline of the building's plan, the relative depths of the moldings and reliefs, and the profile of the cornice. The daguerreotype makes a clear statement, suggesting the endurance of the building itself while also hinting, through its depiction of cracks and wear, at its fragility.

By the time he visited Athens in 1842, the grand Classical temples had long since crumbled, and generations of visitors, including Lord Elgin, had already left with sizable architectural souvenirs. Nonetheless, it is clear that Girault de Prangey, like so many visitors of his time, found the ruins awe-inspiring. To do these monuments justice, he deployed the full dimensions of his largest daguerreotype plates more often than in any other city.

The Acropolis had a profound impact on Girault de Prangey, who produced more than twenty daguerreotypes of the site. He also made two views of it with Athens in the foreground; he did not trim this plate after completing the process, and these two panoramas survive together, confirming that he



Figure 4. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *50. Athènes, Tour des Vents* (Athens, Tower of the Winds), 1842. Daguerreotype, 7.7 × 9 cm (3 1/32 × 3 17/32 in.). JPGM 2003.82.4.



Figure 5. JOSEPH-PHILIBERT GIRAULT DE PRANGEY (French, 1804–1892), *57. Athènes. Tour des Vents* (Athens, Tower of the Winds), 1842. Daguerreotype, 12 × 18.8 cm (4¾ × 7⅜ in.). JPGM L.2004.77.5 Collection of Daniel Wolf.



Figure 6. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), 43. *Athènes. Tour des Vents* (Athens, Tower of the Winds), 1842. Daguerreotype, 11.3 × 18.1 cm (4 7/16 × 7 1/8 in.). JPGM 2004.79.2.



masked part of the whole plate while making each exposure so he could render daguerreotypes in other formats.[30] His success at the Acropolis provides us with the earliest extant photographs of that ancient citadel. They are also among the most impressive, including magnificent large daguerreotypes of the Parthenon, the Propylaia, and the Erechtheion.[31]

In his bold view of the northeast corner of the Parthenon one can see the effects of years of neglect and damage, but the temple ruins tower above the rubble (fig. 7). Girault de Prangey chose a viewpoint so close to his subject that the marble columns fill the frame, with the corner detail emphasized right in the center of the picture. The slightly low viewpoint accentuates the height of the structure and adds to the overall sense of its iconic power. At the bottom, to the left of the corner pillar, is what appears to be a small camera on a tripod. This suggests that the photographer traveled with at least two cameras, one of which was intended for use with his smaller daguerreotype plates.

Figure 7.
JOSEPH-PHILIBERT GIRAULT DE PRANGEY (French, 1804–1892), *112. Athènes. 1842. / Parthénon. Faç[ade]. et / C[olonnade]. Nord* (Athens, Facade and North Colonnade of the Parthenon), 1842. Daguerreotype 18.8 × 24 cm (7⅜ × 9⁷⁄₁₆ in.). JPGM 2003.82.2.

The Propylaia was the monumental entrance to the Acropolis, and like the Parthenon, it was to become a favorite subject for photographers. Like many who came after him, Girault de Prangey chose to show this gateway from the inside, looking out toward the distant landscape (fig. 8). Later photographs illustrate that excavations flattened the debris that fills the foreground in this view, eventually revealing the full height of the columns. To the right of the image, which is laterally reversed, is the so-called Frankish Tower, which was erected in the fifteenth century and demolished in 1875. Many photographs of the Propylaia made between the 1850s and the year the tower was razed are dominated by this awkward fortification structure. Girault de Prangey has here managed to minimize the tower, using its dark form to help lead our eyes toward the sunlit columns of his subject.

In his large view of the Erechtheion, Girault de Prangey shows the unusually complex form of the temple, which was built over several sacred sites and levels on the Acropolis (fig. 9). The daguerreotype demonstrates the slender grace of the temple's Ionic columns, this in comparison with the Doric columns featured in his studies of the Parthenon and the Propylaia. He has selected as his central feature the west facade, the side that had sustained the least damage over the centuries. Yet the broken column on the wall behind draws our attention away from the facade and through the exposed internal spaces of the building. The celebrated Caryatid Portico plays a minor role, barely visible on the far right.

In addition to these imposing views of the major monuments, Girault de Prangey produced photographs of smaller sculptures and architectural details. The first of these is composed of several architectural fragments supporting the remains of a relief, thought to represent the goddess of victory from the Temple of Athena Nike (fig. 10; cf. fig. 18, p. 189). The smaller format suits the more intimate scale of the work, and the proportions reflect those of the arrangement. The photographer has made this daguerreotype in strong sunlight, so that the subtle curves of the figure and the clearly defined folds of drapery emerge from a deep, velvety shade.

The second photograph is curiously enigmatic (fig. 11). Unusual by any standard, it shows the arched entrance to the medieval cistern located east-southeast of the Erechtheion and north of the Parthenon — not a subject one would have expected to be of interest to Girault de Prangey. However, legend has it that during his contest with Athena for possession of the Acropolis, Poseidon struck a rock here with his trident, creating a sacred salt-water spring. Perhaps it was this myth that appealed, or perhaps it was simply the sight of an arch among the Greek ruins that aroused the Frenchman's curiosity. Whatever the reason, he has treated this modest architectural detail with the same attention he gives to more commanding structures, using a low viewpoint and careful lighting to isolate the subject from its surroundings and to create an image that is at once both clear and mysterious.

By the time Girault de Prangey arrived at Baalbek in Syria (today, Lebanon) in late 1843, he had made more than four hundred daguerreotypes. Here he added about one hundred new photographs to his inventory, the most he made in any single location — not surprising, given the enormity of this predominantly Roman site. It was the combination of this ambitious scale with flamboyant architectural decoration that defined Baalbek. In the mid-nineteenth century, the city, also known as Heliopolis (City of the Sun), had yet to be the focus of an archaeological investigation; it was not until 1898 that a



Figure 8. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *91. Athènes. 1842. Propylées. Pris de l'Intérieur* (Athens, View from the interior of the Propylaia), 1842. Daguerreotype, 18.8 × 24 cm (7⅜ × 9⁷⁄₁₆ in.). JPGM L.2004.77.6. Collection of Daniel Wolf.



Figure 9. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *123. Athènes, 1842. T.[emple] de Min.[erve] Pol.[iade] Faç[ade]. O.[uest]* (Athens, West Facade of the Erechtheion), 1842. Daguerreotype, 18.9 × 24 cm (7⁷⁄₁₆ × 9⁷⁄₁₆ in.). JPGM 2003.135.

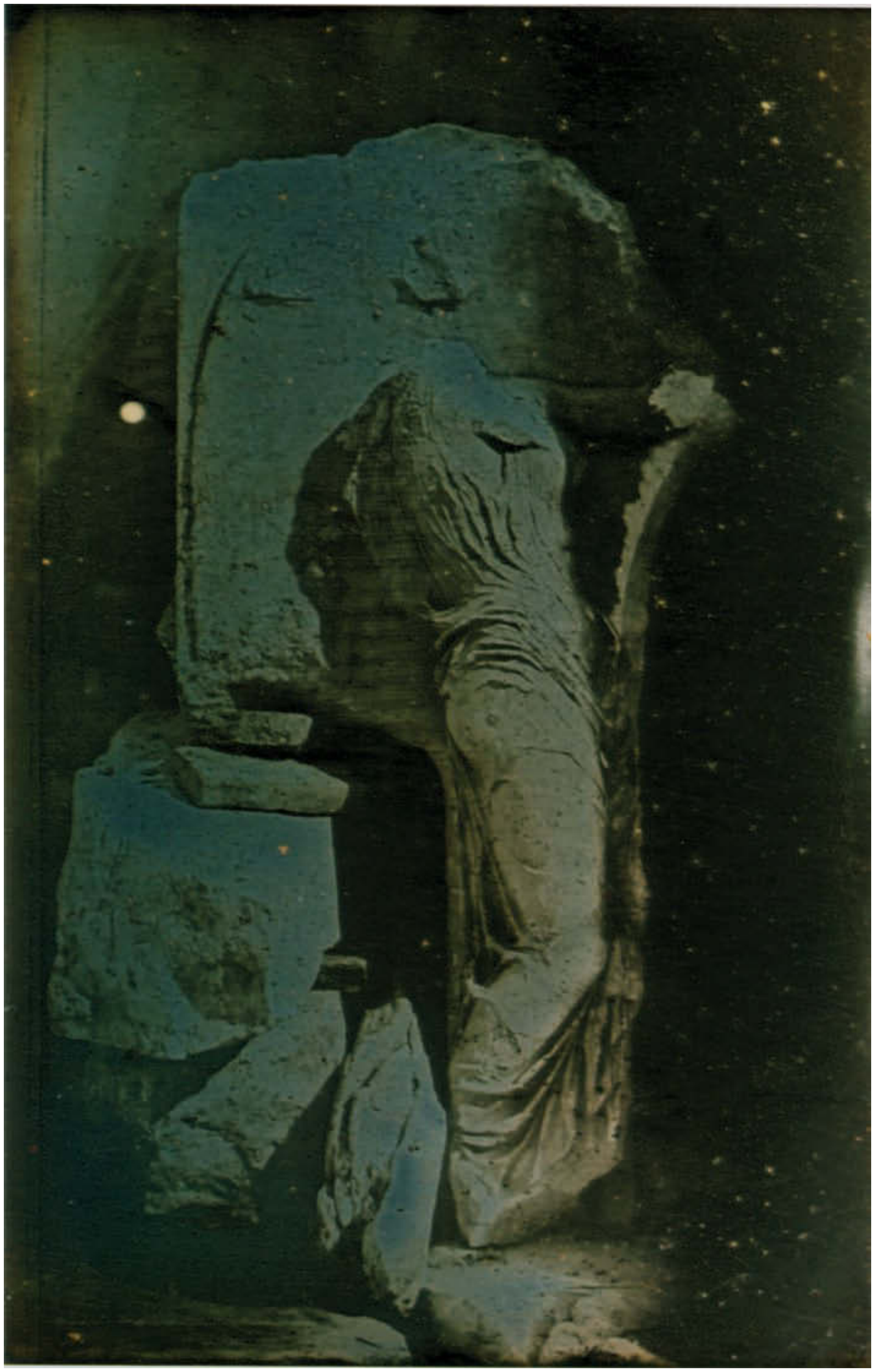


Figure 10.
Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *50. Athènes, T.[emple] Vict.[oire] aptère* (Athens, Sculpture from the Temple of Wingless Victory, or Athena Nike), 1842. Daguerreotype, 18.8 × 12.2 cm ($7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$ in.). JPGM 2003.82.3.

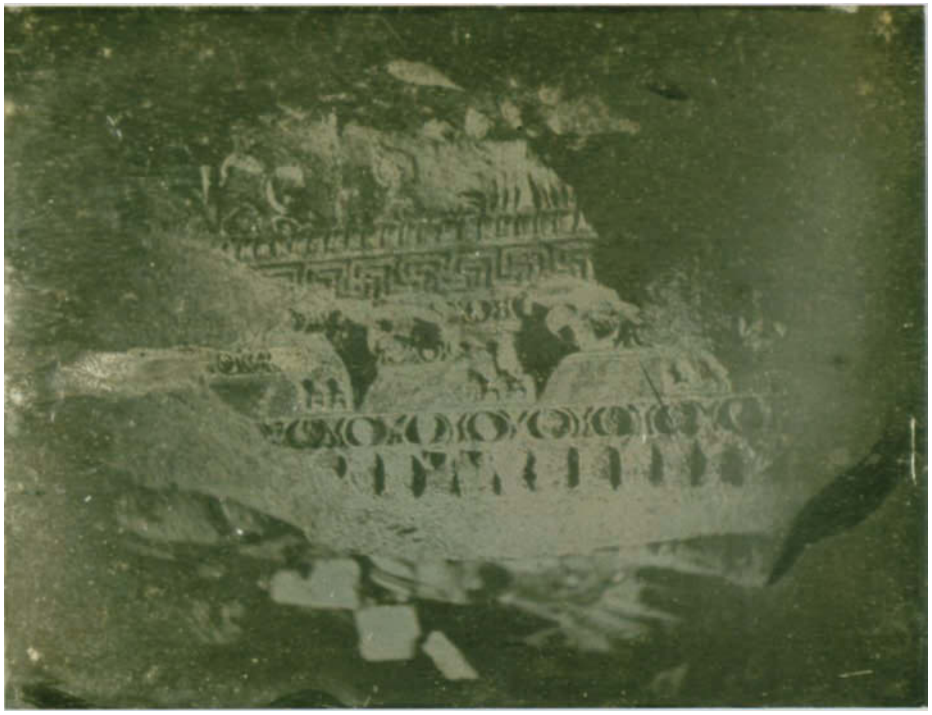


Figure 11. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *54. Athènes. T.[emple] de Min.[erve] Poliade (1er plans)* (Athens, Cistern opening at the foot of the Erechtheion, Acropolis), 1842. Daguerreotype, 12.2 × 18.8 cm (4 13/16 × 7 3/8 in.). JPGM 2003.136.



Figure 12A.
JOSEPH-PHILIBERT GIRAULT DE PRANGEY (French, 1804–1892), *220. Baalbec. Petit temple. Ext.[érieur], Entablement* (Baalbek, Entablature from the exterior of the Temple of Bacchus), 1843–1844. Daguerreotype, 18.8 × 12.2 cm (7⅜ × 4¾ in.). JPGM L.2004.42.7. Collection of Daniel Wolf.

Figure 12B.
JOSEPH-PHILIBERT GIRAULT DE PRANGEY (French, 1804–1892), *209. Baalbec. Pet.[it] temple. Ext.[érieur], frize [sic] Ent.[ablement]* (Baalbek, Broken Entablature from the Exterior of the Temple of Bacchus), 1843–1844. Daguerreotype, 9.4 × 12 cm (3¹¹⁄₁₆ × 4¾ in.). JPGM L.2004.77.10. Collection of Daniel Wolf.



German expedition began excavating the two very large Roman temples of Jupiter and Bacchus.

Girault de Prangey studied the remains of each of these temples in detail as well as the smaller, circular Temple of Venus. Using every daguerreotype-plate format available to him, he spent five months or so assembling a visual inventory of Baalbek, from expansive views of the distant temples to close-ups of the most elaborate Roman architectural features to be found (figs. 12A–12B).[32] For the details of the circular temple (see fig. 1, p. 5) and of the Temple of Bacchus (see figs. 12A–12B) he switched between the full size of his largest daguerreotype plate and the second-smallest size. In the first he captures the majestic scale of the massive carved-stone entablature and circular wall of the temple interior, including just enough of the latter to hint at the pattern of alternating arched and triangulated pediments above the niches. Here the magnificent stone blocks thrust upward and inward with an exuberance that seems barely contained within the frame.

The smaller daguerreotype (see fig. 12B) is one of several that reveal fragments—in this case, an isolated chunk from the exterior entablature of the Temple of Bacchus. The finely carved detail lies upside down on the ground, where it has fallen amid other rubble. Girault de Prangey chose the time of day for his exposure carefully, when the sun cast enough shadow to emphasize the deeper carving as well as the shallow patterns. He also used the limited plane of focus of his lens to advantage, so that only the entablature itself is in focus, leaving the background blurred.



Figure 13. JOSEPH-PHILIBERT GIRAULT DE PRANGEY (French, 1804–1892), *206. Baalbec. G.[ran]de Cour Carrée G.[ran]de côtes* (Baalbek, Great square court, Temple of Jupiter), 1843–1844. Daguerreotype, 12.2 × 18.8 cm (4 13/16 × 7 3/8 in.). JPGM 2003.137.

A third daguerreotype Girault de Prangey made at Baalbek depicts one of the most complete remains from the massive great court of the Temple of Jupiter, among the largest Roman temples ever built (fig. 13). One entered this main court, which measured more than 100 × 100 m (328 × 328 feet), through the propylaia and hexagonal forecourt. On each side were two semicircular exedra, flanked by rectangular recesses and screened from the main space by alternating red and gray granite columns. The photographer depicts the form and decoration of the surviving exedra in a manner that evokes an elevation in an architectural drawing. Only a single stone on the upper level and the clutter of fallen masonry in the foreground break this symmetry. More than the finely cut ashlar of the wall, these huge stones evoke the scale of the structure. Later photographs show the extent of excavations, with the rubble removed and the ground level lowered to expose the full dimensions of the wall.

After traveling for more than two years in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, Girault de Prangey returned to France in early 1845. Henry Brocard summed up the photographer's achievements during his architectural pilgrimage:

> *Armed with a camera lucida, he made numerous drawings, remarkable both for their execution and accuracy, and completed the series using the daguerreotype, an entirely new invention, at the time very rudimentary and, above all, difficult. The quantity of daguerreotype plates that he brought back was considerable. They filled immense trunks and were classified in perfect order.*[33]

Nearly all these daguerreotypes survived in the photographer's archive, kept in the original wooden boxes and rarely handled. Girault de Prangey had mastered a delicate and challenging process, which for best results required a carefully controlled chemistry and closely monitored environment. He achieved success on a grand scale while constantly traveling, often to inaccessible and inhospitable locations, under circumstances that were far from ideal. He used the daguerreotype with a sense of purpose that apparently was unrivaled at the time. If his primary goal had indeed been to collate a comparative history of Islamic architecture, there seems no doubt that he not only succeeded in reaching it but also ranged far beyond, incorporating a detailed survey of classical architecture for additional comparison. Once home, he stored the daguerreotypes, reviewing the contents of the boxes at least twice over the years and annotating them "Exact en 1865" and "Exact en 1880." One assumes he was, at the very least, satisfied with the results. In his April 1843 letter to Désiré Raoul-Rochette, he had written:

> *You will see with pleasure, Sir, the use I have made of the practical instrument invented by Daguerre; in a variety of circumstances I have captured, often with complete success, several bas-reliefs and statues from the Acropolis, many fragments and some complete monuments from Athens and Rome, and my collection, without including my plans and drawings, is already strong. Today it is with real pleasure that I find myself so close to monuments that it would be so important to possess with total accuracy.*[34]

Brocard, in his obituary of the photographer, indicated that Girault de Prangey had intended to publish his daguerreotypes, indeed that he had "attempted the publication of important works, but did not have the satisfaction of seeing them completed."[35] Yet he went on to note that "Girault de Prangey went back to settle down in Langres, where he occupied himself with the study of archaeology and with the publication of his works on Arab art. The latter demanded considerable outlay and he had to give it up and withdraw to his Leuchey villa, near the spring at Douy, in the midst of rocks and undergrowth."[36]

The major work Girault de Prangey initiated after he came back was a series of lithographs, *Monuments arabes d'Égypte, de Syrie, et d'Asie Mineure dessinés et mesurés de 1842 à 1845* (Arab monuments of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor drawn and measured from 1842 to 1845). Published in 1846, it was typeset by Firmin Didot Frères and printed by Lemercier, both Parisian firms. According to advertisements that appeared in early fascicles, the series was intended to comprise twenty or thirty parts with four plates per part; each part would cost sixteen francs and include historical and descriptive text to accompany the plates, but evidently, only six parts were ever published.[37] Given the expenses he must already have incurred, as well as those he would later invest in the redesign of his villa and garden, it seems rather unlikely that excessive cost was the sole rationale for ceasing publication. In 1851, the same year he made some "after" daguerreotype views of his now Orientalized home, Girault de Prangey returned to publishing, again using the Lemercier firm to produce colored lithographs issued under the title *Monuments et paysages de l'Orient* (Monuments and landscapes of the Orient). For this work he appears to have reused some of the plates from *Monuments arabes d'Égypte, de Syrie, et d'Asie Mineure* while adding new subjects, including, for the first time, classical Greek studies.[38] This series, too, was short-lived, presumably because it failed to generate much public interest.

In his introduction to *Monuments arabes d'Égypte, de Syrie, et d'Asie Mineure*, he wrote: "These views of the northwest corner of the present Mosque of Amr, pl. 5, no. 9 and the fragments nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8 on the same plate, are traced over the photographic images obtained on the spot, by means of the wonderful instrument invented by Daguerre; the skillful artist who has reproduced these images by lithography has copied them with scrupulous accuracy" (fig. 14). Although this seems to be the only reference to any of the plates being based directly on Girault de Prangey's daguerreotypes, a comparison of plates from both publications with the surviving daguerreotypes suggests that at least a handful of other examples were very close copies from the photographs.[39]

Unlike the negative/positive process invented in England by William Henry Fox Talbot, the daguerreotype did not lend itself to multiple reproductions. Each daguerreotype was a unique object—a highly reflective, silver-coated copper plate with a finely detailed image on the silver surface. In the early 1840s they were reproduced by laboriously hand-copying the images onto a traditional print base, which was then inked to make an engraving or a lithograph. This was the method used for plates in the earliest book containing illustrations based on photographs, Noël-Marie-Paymal Lerebours's *Excursions daguerriennes* (1842).[40] While having the advantage of allowing multiple copies to be printed, this manual intervention essentially created a new picture, which immediately lost the intrinsically photographic qualities that had so distinguished the original. The direct link between the photograph and the photographed disappeared; what remained was a book of engravings or lithographs, which, while interesting, was no substitute for the experience of examining actual daguerreotypes. Experiments were already under way to use the daguerreotype plate itself as a printing block. This produced a result that was slightly more "photographic," but the surface of the daguerreotype plate was damaged or destroyed in the process of making the prints.[41] By the time Girault de Prangey was publishing his lithographs, others, such as Talbot, were already illustrating books by pasting in photographic prints.[42]



Figure 14.
Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *Détails, Mosquée d'Amrou, au Kaire* (Details from the Mosque of Amr, Cairo), 1843. From *Monuments arabes d'Égypte, de Syrie, et d'Asie Mineure dessinés et mesurés de 1842 à 1845* (Arab monuments of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor drawn and measured from 1842 to 1845) (Paris: Lemercier, 1846), lithograph plate no. 5. British Library HS 74/1110. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.



Figure 15.
Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (French, 1804–1892), *Alhambra, 16, 17 et 18 Avril 1833* (Alhambra, April 16, 17, and 18), 1833. Architectural-detail drawing with watercolor, 23.5 × 30 cm (9¼ × 11 15/16 in.). Private collection.



Unlike Talbot, who continued experimenting with the fledgling medium of photography because he was unable to draw to his own satisfaction, Girault de Prangey was an accomplished artist even before he acquired photographic tools and techniques. His paintings, measured drawings, sketches, and lithographs reveal his talent and versatility, both of which undoubtedly contributed to his abilities as a photographer. The process of architectural (or measured) drawing requires a methodical study of the subject and demands an analytical approach to the interrelationship of architectural form and detail. In Langres he had made measured drawings of Roman remains, closely studying their details. In Spain during the early 1830s he drew the complex filigree patterns that characterize the decorative detailing of much Islamic architecture (fig. 15), and he continued making drawings while on his daguerreotype tour a decade later. His freehand sketches and preparatory drawings for lithographs no doubt influenced the very particular ways he composed his photographs. In short, he had extensive artistic preparation for becoming a photographer. Once he had mastered the technical aspects of photography, he was able to produce a remarkable body of work in different but related media.

Girault de Prangey produced the earliest existing photographic images of many ancient Mediterranean sites. Invisible for decades, these daguerreotypes owe their survival to the conscientious care of later guardians. His contribution now occupies a unique position, bridging a gap between the finely executed architectural drawings of previous centuries and the photography of later generations. Generally following more commercial paths, other nineteenth-century photographers lacked the time, money, or talent to approach similar subjects with such depth or breadth of vision. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey drew upon his interest in and knowledge of several disciplines—archaeology, architecture, art, and photography—to create timeless images of ancient places.





Early French Photographers in Egypt

In part because of interest engendered by Napoleon's 1798 expedition to Egypt, most of the photographers who worked there in the 1840s and early 1850s were French. Among them was the journalist Maxime Du Camp, who learned photography from Gustave Le Gray in order to document a government-supported archaeological expedition from 1849 until 1851. The journals and letters of Du Camp's traveling companion, the great novelist Gustave Flaubert, vividly recount their journey, which extended to Nubia, Syria, and Palestine. Du Camp's negatives were later printed and published by Blanquart-Evrard of Lille.

At Abu Simbel on the border between Nubia and Upper Egypt, Du Camp had his boat crew clear away enough sand to make a colossal head visible. He then persuaded an Egyptian servant to sit atop it, allegedly by pretending that the camera contained a gun, which would fire if the man did not remain motionless. The head represents Ramses II (ruled 1279–1213 B.C.), the builder of this rock-cut temple, the principal facade of which has four seated figures of the monarch. Only the servant's face, smaller than the pharaoh's eye, is in deep shadow in the midday sun. (Plate I)

The civil engineer Félix Teynard went to Egypt a year after Du Camp, and like Du Camp his only known photographs are those that he made there. Because the ancient ground level of the temple at Esna was far below that of Teynard's time, he was able to study at close range the lotus-blossom capitals of the sanctuary of Knum and the hieroglyphics on the lintels above them. His masterful use of shadow brings forth abundant detail. Teynard's work was first issued by Henri de Fonteny in thirty-three installments of five prints each and later gathered into two massive volumes published by Goupil in 1858. (Plate II)

John Beasley Greene, son of American parents living in France, visited Egypt in 1853 and 1854. His paper negatives, produced using a process he had learned from Le Gray, were printed and published in books by Blanquart-Evrard. Many of Greene's highly atmospheric photographs are characterized by their low horizons and generous expanses of foreground sand, the graininess of which is accentuated by the paper fibers of both negative and print. In his longitudinal view of the Temple of Amon at Luxor, seen from across the floodplain along the Nile, the seeming fragility of a palm blowing in the wind contrasts with the overwhelming solidity of the architecture. (Plate III)

In 1860 Gustave Le Gray himself ventured to the Near East. After settling in Egypt, he retraced the itineraries of his former pupils Du Camp and Greene. Unlike them he employed the wet collodion on glass negative process, from which he produced startlingly crisp albumen prints. The process was difficult to use in the Egyptian heat, but Le Gray had the advantage of traveling on the Nile in comparative comfort as part of the entourage of the ruling khedive's sons. At Karnak, when the sun cut slashing shadows across an aisle of the hypostyle hall of the Temple of Amon, he aimed down the length of the hall to the leaning column at its end. The result is arguably the most dramatic photograph made in the nineteenth century in Egypt. (Plate IV)

GB

Plate 1.
Maxime Du Camp
(French, 1822–1894),
Nubie./Ibsamboul/
Colosse occidental
du Spéos de Phré
(Westernmost colossus,
Great Temple, Abu
Simbel), 1850.
Salted paper print,
22.7 × 16.2 cm
(8 15/16 × 6 3/8 in.).
JPGM 84.XO.1303.2.46.





Plate 11. Félix Teynard (French, 1817–1892), Capitals, shafts, and architrave, Temple of Knum, Esna. From *Égypte et Nubie: Sites et Monuments,* negative: 1851–1852; print: 1853. Salted paper print, 24.9 × 30.8 cm (9 3/16 × 12 1/8 in.). JPGM 86.XB.693.1.71.



Plate III. John Beasley Greene (American, b. France, 1832–1856), Temple of Amon at Luxor, 1853–1854. Salted paper print, 23.5 × 29.2 cm (9¼ × 11½ in.). JPGM 84.XM.361.2.



Plate IV. Gustave Le Gray (French, 1820–1884), Hypostyle Hall, Temple of Amun, Karnak, 1867.
Albumen silver print, 55.9 × 71.1 cm (22 × 28 in.). JPGM 95.XM.55.

Francis Frith in Egypt

The organizational skills and rigorous planning that enabled Francis Frith to retire from the wholesale grocery business as a rich man at age thirty-three also enabled him to carry out three carefully plotted photographic expeditions to the Near East and Egypt in 1856, 1857, and 1859. Despite the difficult climatic conditions there, he produced a sizable number of large-plate images and even more stereoscopic views. After returning from his last and longest trip, he established a printing and publishing firm that specialized in tourist views from around the British Isles, a successful business that lasted until 1960.

Frith's photographs of Egypt and the Holy Land were published in thirteen volumes, some in portfolio format. The glossy albumen prints were accompanied by texts explaining the archaeological significance of their subjects, their literary associations, and Frith's intentions at the sites. A deeply religious man, he stressed connections to the Old and New Testaments whenever possible. Contemporary critics found Frith's Egyptian photographs superior to others of the period because of their size, clarity, and the format in which they were presented.

In his large-plate study of the Great Pyramid of Cheops and the Great Sphinx, the three minuscule figures near the flank of the Sphinx almost disappear in the tumbled sand. Their carefully arranged pyramidal pose matches that of the white top of the tent peeking over the nearest dune. (Plate V)

Similarly the three foreground figures in Frith's view of the pyramids at Dahshur (which he spelled Dashoor) have shapes imitating the colossal structures behind them. The rough heap of the badly deteriorated mud-brick Pyramid of Ahenemhet III contrasts with that of the distant bent Pyramid of Senefru, which, because of its remote location, had escaped the attention of scavengers and retained most of its outer stone casing. In each pyramid picture Frith emphasized the enormous size of the structures, both by placing them in yawning expanses of sand and by including people. (Plate VI)

On the marshy Theban plain Frith posed a scale figure standing on the knee of one of the colossi of Memnon in addition to including men and horses in the foreground. He chose a diagonal view so that the overall volumes of the enthroned figures would be clearly shown even if their heads were so badly eroded that the profiles were lost. The mortuary temple they once guarded has entirely disappeared. (Plate VII)

Frith's superbly composed image of the temple on the island of Philae in the Nile is titled *hypaethral* (open air, or roofless). The structure is known locally as "pharaoh's bed," or, more formally, as the Kiosk of Trajan, for the Roman emperor who built this ceremonial resting place. In the foreground of the picture is the riverboat Frith used for his travel on the Nile. The much smaller boat in front of it has a tent that served as his darkroom for the necessary last-minute chemical manipulations before the wet collodion on glass negatives were placed into the camera and after the exposures were completed. (Plate VIII)

GB



Plate v. Francis Frith (British, 1822–1898), *The Great Pyramid and the Great Sphinx*, 1858. Albumen silver print, 38.6 × 48.6 cm (15 3/16 × 19 1/8 in.). JPGM 84.XO.434.17.



Plate VI. FRANCIS FRITH (British, 1822–1898), *The Pyramids of Dashoor, from the East*, 1858.
Albumen silver print, 37.7 × 48.5 cm (14 13/16 × 19 1/16 in.). JPGM 84.XM.633.5.



Plate VII. FRANCIS FRITH (British, 1822–1898), *The Statues of the Plain, Thebes*, 1858.
Albumen silver print, 36.9 × 47.5 cm (14½ × 18¾ in.). JPGM 84.XO.434.16.



Plate VIII. FRANCIS FRITH (British, 1822–1898), *The Hypaethral Temple, Philae*, 1858.
Albumen silver print, 37.8 × 47.9 cm (14⅞ × 18⅞ in.). JPGM 84.XO.434.10.

ANTIQUITY DEPICTED

John K. Papadopoulos

Throughout the Mediterranean, the archaeological site has loomed large as a focus of memory and identity.[1] Ruins contain the remnants of former worlds, a living reminder of the past in an ever-changing, perpetual present. When Pausanias, that indefatigable traveler through Greece, visited Mycenae in the second century A.D. the site was already an archaeological ruin, and he was just one of a number of learned tourists captivated by its history and mythology. The citadel was plainly visible, ringed by the massive Late Helladic fortifications, which the Classical-era Greeks could not believe had been wrought by mortal hands and so claimed were "Cyclopean"— constructed by the one-eyed giants, the Cyclopes. Describing Mycenae, Pausanias focused on the monument that in antiquity was a must-see and that remains one today, the Lion Gate: "Having ascended the Tretus and resumed the road to Argos, we have on the left the ruins of Mycenae" (Book 2.15.4). . . . "The Argives destroyed Mycenae out of jealousy. . . . However, parts of the circuit wall are still left, including the gate, which is surmounted by lions. These also are said to be the work of the Cyclopes, who made the walls of Tiryns for Proetus (Book 2.16.4)."[2]



Pausanias went on to relate how Mycenae figured in the story surrounding one of the most prominent families in Greek mythology and myth-history, a family that provided the stuff of legend for numerous Greek poets and tragedians, beginning with Homer, and that included such names as Agamemnon, Aigisthos, Atreus, Klytemnestra, Elektra, Iphigeneia, and Orestes. As a literary topos, Mycenae was never lost from human memory, and due to its blatant physicality — not least its enormous surviving walls and the impressive Lion Gate — the site was never lost from human view. It was an ancient ruin that endured to become very much part of a modern landscape.

Pausanias's description was dominated by words, which have an ability to survive across the millennia so much more intact than pictures. We do not know whether Pausanias enlivened his text with illustrations, like the sketches in the travelogues of Sir William Gell[3]; certainly none has survived. Prior to the modern world view, our very image of antiquity was dominated by philology: memory and imagination, whether consciously or subconsciously, were shaped by words rather than pictures.

One of the earliest surviving photographs of the Lion Gate dates to about 1859 (fig. 1), twenty years after the first photographs were made in Greece and Rome, so it is clear that Mycenae was not among the sites visited by the first persons to travel this region bearing cameras and light-sensitive materials. The gate was probably built sometime in the mid-thirteenth century B.C. We do not know who captured the image, but by 1875 well-established Greek photographers such as Constantine Athanassiou were recording details of the fortifications of other Late Bronze Age citadels in the Argolid, such as Tiryns.[4] The 1859 image is all the more evocative for illustrating the portal filled with debris that had accumulated over the centuries. Predating the first excavations at Mycenae by Heinrich Schliemann in 1876 by almost twenty years, the photograph shows that part of the site more or less as Schliemann encountered it. To what extent it shows what Pausanias saw, we may never know. Nor do we know if mid-nineteenth-century travelers saw what he encountered there, but it is likely that — guidebook in hand — they thought they were viewing just what Pausanias had written about. It is, however, an image of an edifice very different from the one any modern visitor would come upon.[5] As Gregory Jusdanis put it, "[S]crubbed, fenced off, and scaffolded, ruins have never looked as they do now."[6] Indeed, our perception of any excavated monument, and even some standing ones, is determined and defined by archaeology because, in its desire to save and restore the past, archaeology transforms it into something modern.

Produced about five years after the Lion Gate photograph is Baron Paul des Granges's albumen print showing the Archaic (sixth century B.C.) Temple of Apollo at Corinth (fig. 2).[7] This photograph not only frames the best-preserved standing monument at the site, but it also captures the towering, imposing brow of Acrocorinth, the fortified citadel, or acropolis, of ancient Corinth, a palimpsest of defensive walls that includes segments from the Classical period through the Roman era and into Byzantine and post-Byzantine times. The image predates by some thirty years the initial excavation of the site, conducted during the academic year 1895–1896 by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

As Benjamin Ide Wheeler pointed out in a February 2, 1896, letter in the *New York Tribune*, no excavation of a large Greek city had hitherto been undertaken. (That year Wheeler was teaching Greek language and literature at the American School.) The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut excavations at Olympia and those at Delphi and Delos by the École française d'Athènes were of sanctuary sites, even though Delos had in part been an urban nucleus during the Hellenistic era. Nor, Wheeler maintained, was any other such site as Corinth available, for modern buildings covered the other prominent Greek cities. He therefore appealed to the American public for funding to do for the American School what the French and German governments had done for theirs — another example of archaeology and nationalism.[8] From the beginning, the excavations at Corinth were largely financed with contributions from reluctant donors. But the project was to have a life of its own, since excavations there by the American School continue to this day. Ironically, the city center of Archaic Corinth still eludes archaeologists, perhaps because it lies under the tavernas, tourist



Figure 1.
Anonymous,
The Gate of the Lions at Mycenae, ca. 1859.
Albumen silver print,
26.7 × 21 cm
(10½ × 8¼ in.).
GRI 92.R.84 (03.18).



Figure 2. Baron Paul des Granges (German, b. in Greece 1825, active 1860s and early 1870s), *Temple of Apollo at Corinth*, ca. 1865. Albumen silver print, 24.4 × 39 cm (9⅝ × 15⅜ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (04.25.01).

shops, and modern houses of Old Corinth, the small town that grew around the most prominent ruins of the site to accommodate archaeologists and visitors.

In 1810, more than five decades before the Baron des Granges photographed the Temple of Apollo, a young George Gordon—Lord Byron—stood on Acrocorinth's brow. As a poet, Byron was well versed in the process of making pictures with words. In his poem "The Siege of Corinth" he figuratively urged the reader to join him there:

But those hardy days flew cheerily!
And when they now fall drearily,
My thoughts, like swallows, skim the main,
And bear my spirit back again
Over the earth, and through the air,
A wild bird and a wanderer.
'Tis this that ever wakes my strain,
And oft, too oft, implores again
The few who may endure my lay,
To follow me so far away.
Stranger—wilt thou follow now,
And sit with me on Acro-Corinth's brow?

This was not the only picturesque ruin to have inspired Lord Byron, for at the so-called Temple of Poseidon at Sounion he experienced what appears to have been a moment of epiphany and rapture. In "The Isles of Greece" (*Don Juan*, Canto III), he wrote:

Place me on Sunium's marbled steep
  Where nothing, save the waves and I,
Can hear our mutual murmurs sweep;
  There, swan-like, let me sing and die:
A land of slaves shall ne'er be mine—
Dash down yon cup of Samian wine!

The carefully framed view of the Temple of Poseidon by Petros Moraites, showing a boat at full sail in the foreground, sailors appropriately facing the camera and the Greek flag prominently aloft at the stern—there is no mistaking the nationality of the vessel or monument—dates to 1865–1870 (fig. 3). It is on this marbled steep that Byron ends his lyric elegy to the isles of Greece. The photograph was probably taken from land at the western end of the small, protected bay below the temple. Clearly visible around the temple is the wall of the temenos, or sacred area, of the sanctuary; and visible about halfway down the hill are remnants of the Classical-period fortification wall that led down to the Sounion ship sheds. Although the temple is popularly identified with Poseidon, it is not certain which deity was worshiped there—as is the case with so many Greek temples. In the first chapter of his *Description of Greece*, Pausanias detailed Cape Sounion and noted "a temple of Sounian Athena on the summit," but he did not mention Poseidon.

What these three early photographs of Mycenae, Corinth, and Sounion have in common—apart from the fact that they depict sites featured prominently in Pausanias—is that the places they show were, and largely remain, ones that were never overlaid by modern towns or cities. They were picturesque ruins long before the modern era, the sorts of places that, as Jusdanis so nicely put it, "have always incited a reflective, lyrical or melancholic response . . . the sight of crumbling temples, of abandoned cities overgrown with shrubs, of marble heads peering out through the sand, of roads grown silent."[9] Here was the very image of "irresistible decay."[10]

When photography was invented, in 1839, the nascent state of modern Greece was only a few years old, and early photographers of Greek antiquities had an array of monuments to choose from in their creation of what Andrew Szegedy-Maszak has called "true illusions."[11] Nevertheless, among the hundreds of archaeological sites in Greece, relatively few were to become icons of the sort that would serve as metonymic representations of the newly formed nation—and none so evocatively as the Athenian Acropolis. Moreover, the new technologies of reproduction, rather than threatening the aesthetic aura of art, as

Walter Benjamin noted, tended to reinforce the power and allure of the original.[12] That was because these illusions, whether wittingly or unwittingly, depicted modern versions of antiquity.

My aim in the following sections, which focus on ancient sites in Athens, is to demonstrate how images negotiate between expectations, reality, and the ideal. The first section, "Antiquity Depicted," addresses the issue of the invention of ideal imageries that are products of their time and contemporary understandings. The second section, "The Ancient Topography of Athens," deals with the antithesis, namely, how photographs can provide real historical information for reading certain aspects of antiquity. The concluding section, "A Cultural Biography of the Theseion," is something of a synthesis of the other two. Focusing on a small building that figures vitally in the topography of both ancient and modern Athens, this section tries to delineate how the ideal and the real can be combined to allow an alternative approach to monuments in terms of their cultural biography.



Figure 3.
Petros Moraites
(Greek, ca. 1835–1905,
active Athens 1860s–1870s),
The Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, ca. 1865–1870.
Albumen silver print,
23 × 31 cm (9 × 12¼ in.).
GRI 92.R.84 (06.02.01).



Antiquity Depicted

Antiquity Depicted is the title of a small book by Stuart Piggott, published in 1978, that deals with archaeological illustration. Piggott opens by citing what William Strukely, first secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, London, wrote in the first minutes book of the organization in 1717: "Without drawing or designing, the Study of Antiquities or any other Science is lame and imperfect.'"[13]

Strukely was certainly right in asserting that archaeology without illustration would be a lame and imperfect discipline, and by so doing he was among the first to confront the historical dichotomy between words and pictures in the study of the past. But it is also true that the various ways in which earlier antiquarians and contemporary scholars have visually interpreted the archaeological past have been complex and evolving—and have shaped how antiquity itself has been conceived. As Ernst Gombrich elaborated, a pictorial representation

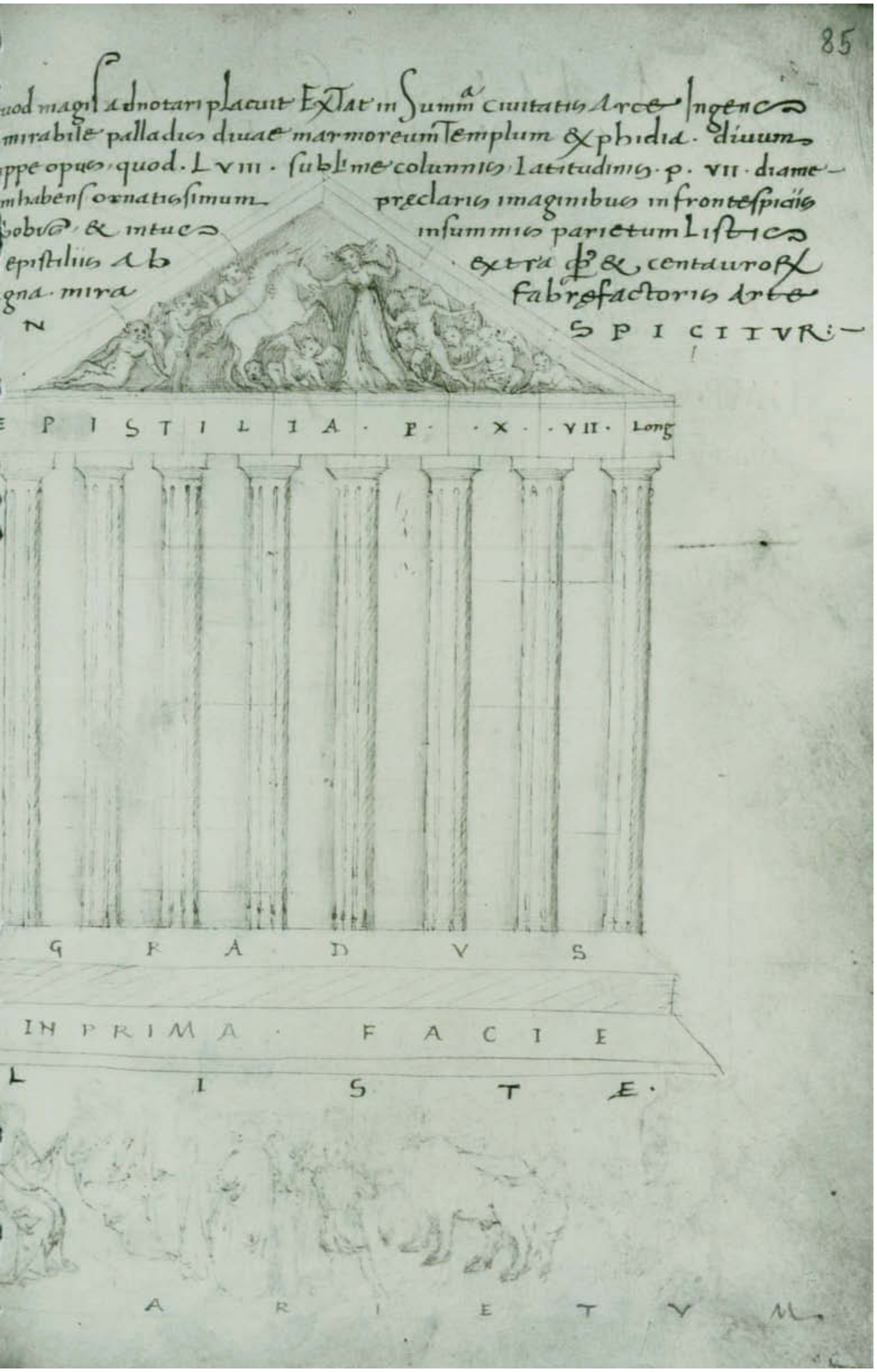
> *is not a faithful record of a visual experience but the faithful construction of a relational model. Neither the subjectivity of vision nor the sway of conventions need lead us to deny that such a model can be constructed to any required degree of accuracy. What is decisive here is clearly the word "required."* The form of a representation cannot be divorced from its purpose and the requirements of the society in which the given visual language gains currency *[emphasis mine]*.[14]

All illustrations of antiquities, whether of monuments in the ground or of portable small finds or even of ancient landscapes, are products of their own time and the result of prevailing conventions. In order to demonstrate the changing sway of conventions, Piggott cogently compared various representations of Stonehenge, beginning with one from a fourteenth-century romance that depicts Merlin erecting the great monument and continuing on up to John Constable's early nineteenth-century watercolor of the site.

Changes in, and the evolution of, visual conventions can similarly be traced by comparing three renderings of the Parthenon produced over several centuries. Ciriaco d'Ancona's drawing from about 1436 of the west facade (fig. 4)[15]—the first known extant illustration of the Parthenon—depicts the temple in a way that bears little resemblance to Jacob Spon's three-dimensional "isometric" reconstruction in his *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, published in 1678 (fig. 5), or to the 1751 engraving by Edward Rooker (fig. 6). Yet despite the overt differences between the renderings, certain details remain constant.

Figure 4.
Ciriaco d'Ancona (Italian, ca. 1391–1455), *West Facade of the Parthenon*, ca. 1436. MS Hamilton 254, fol. 85r. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung.

Ciriaco d'Ancona has the right number of columns along what purports to be the west facade, and the Doric columns are fluted and without bases. However, the building is proportionately too tall and narrow and the pediment considerably steeper than in most Greek temples. Moreover, the intercolumniation—the spacing between columns—is all wrong, for Ciriaco could not solve the problem that has bedeviled many novices of classical architecture: what to do with the columns at either end and their relationship to the entablature if the columns are rendered as more or less equidistant from one another? Greek architects got around this problem by employing what modern architectural historians call Doric contraction; that is, they carefully altered the distances between columns. Spon understood the problem of intercolumniation only too well, but he dealt with it by increasing the space between the middle two columns and presenting two groups of four equidistant columns. This solution, although ingenious, was not on the original, and his Parthenon, like Ciriaco's, is much too narrow, with an impossibly tall and imposing pediment. Moreover, neither Spon nor Ciriaco appreciated the refinements of the building; each presented a boxlike Parthenon composed of straight lines. And in both renderings, there are further inaccuracies in the stylobate and entablature. What both have in common is that they present the Parthenon in splendid isolation, divorced not only from the buildings



that surrounded it but also from the hill on which it stood. As we shall see, this was to become a popular formula in early photographs of ancient sites, since depictions of isolated, decontextualized monuments appealed to the expectations of nineteenth-century viewers.

Ciriaco's drawing has been described by Robin Middleton as little more than a crude approximation of the original Parthenon. Yet it remains significant because after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Ottoman conquest of Greece a few years later, Athens, and especially the Acropolis, became virtually inaccessible to Westerners.[16] Although later scholars and travelers to Athens—not least James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who provided some of the most enduring and accurate drawings of Athenian monuments, some of which no longer survive—strove to render the buildings on the Acropolis and especially the Parthenon as accurately as possible, they were at the disadvantage of having to deal with a building that was a wrecked remnant of its former self.[17]

On September 21, 1687, the Venetian army under Francesco Morosini landed at Piraeus, and on the twenty-third, two batteries positioned themselves on the Hill of the Muses and began firing at the Acropolis. At 7:00 P.M. on September 26, a mortar fired by Morosini's German lieutenant hit the Parthenon, part of which was being used to store gunpowder; the explosion carried away practically the whole of the cella and its frieze, eight columns on the north side, and six on the south, together with their entablature. A fire raged on the Acropolis for two days, and the Parthenon was essentially cut into two ruinous parts.[18] Jacob Spon (together with George Wheler) was one of the last European scholars to have seen and, more important, to have drawn the temple before it was ravaged. His drab and "miserable engraving . . . was to serve as the standard image of the Parthenon for more than sixty years."[19] Constructed between 447 and 432 B.C., the Parthenon was converted into a Christian church probably toward the end of the sixth century A.D., during the reign of the Christian emperor Justinian; it was dedicated first to Saint Sophia and then to the Virgin Mother of God (Theotokou). After the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century, the Parthenon was converted into a mosque,[20] a building that roused awe in Spon and his

companions when they hastened to visit it in the 1670s: "We hastened to go to see the large mosque, which had once been the Temple of Minerva, and was the largest building on the citadel. The sight of it roused a certain awe in us, and we stood considering it for a long time, without tiring our eyes."[21]

The state of the Parthenon following Morosini's attack is well captured in the Edward Rooker engraving, made after a drawing by Richard Dalton (see fig. 6). It was one of twenty-one prints of plans, views, and architectural details that Dalton issued depicting the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Theseion, the Monument of Lysikrates, and the Tower of the Winds.[22] On the basis of the surviving pedimental sculpture, Dalton had depicted the west facade of the Parthenon. This is the side of the building one first sees upon entering the Acropolis from the Propylaia, but in antiquity it was considered the back of the building. As noted, this was the facade Ciriaco d'Ancona illustrated and, it seems fairly clear, the same side Jacob Spon rendered. Both Ciriaco and Spon show the pedimental sculpture

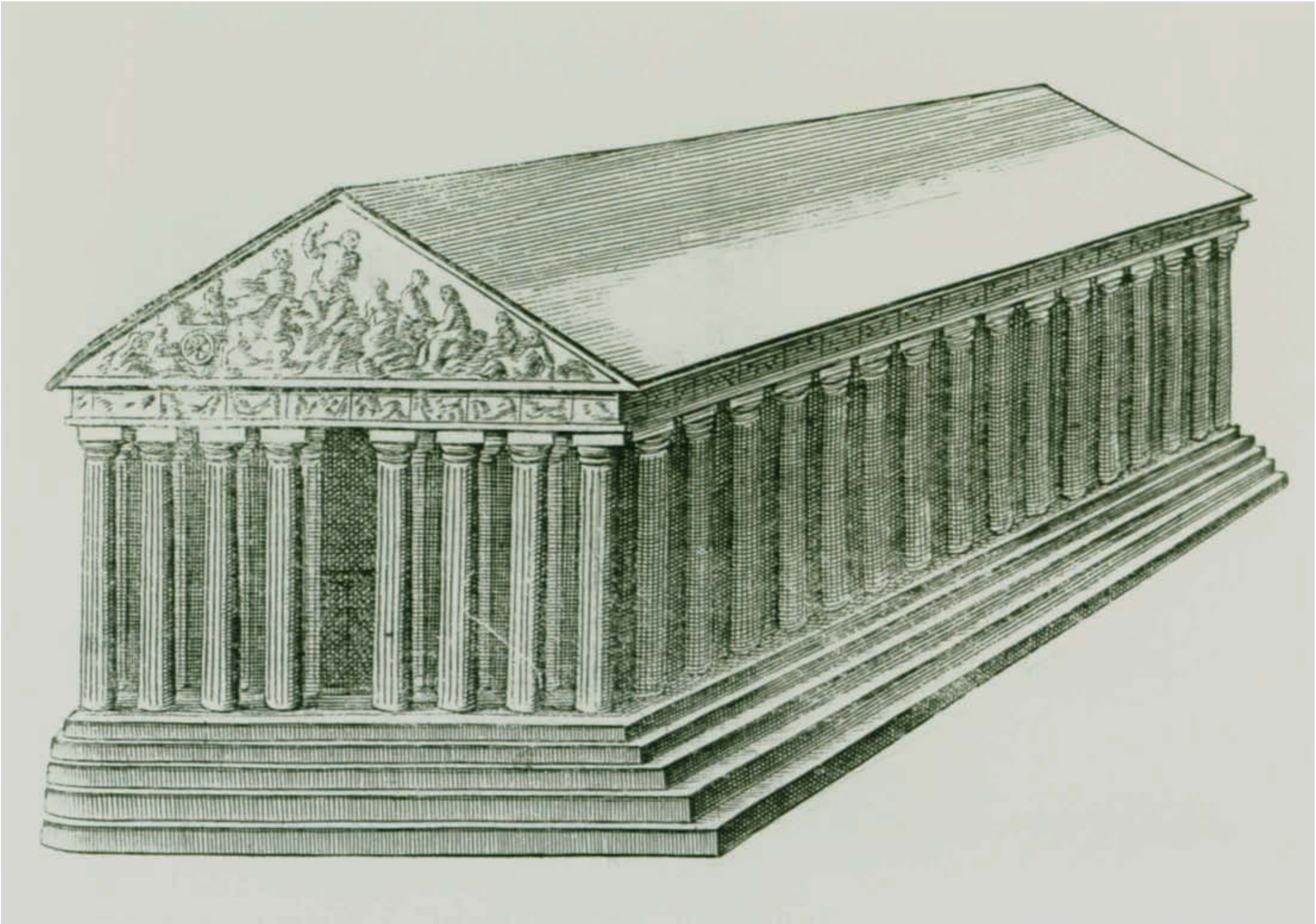


Figure 5.
Jacob Spon (French, 1647–1685), *The Parthenon*. From Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait és années 1675 et 1676* (Lyon: Antoine Cellier le fils, 1678), vol. 2, facing p. 188.

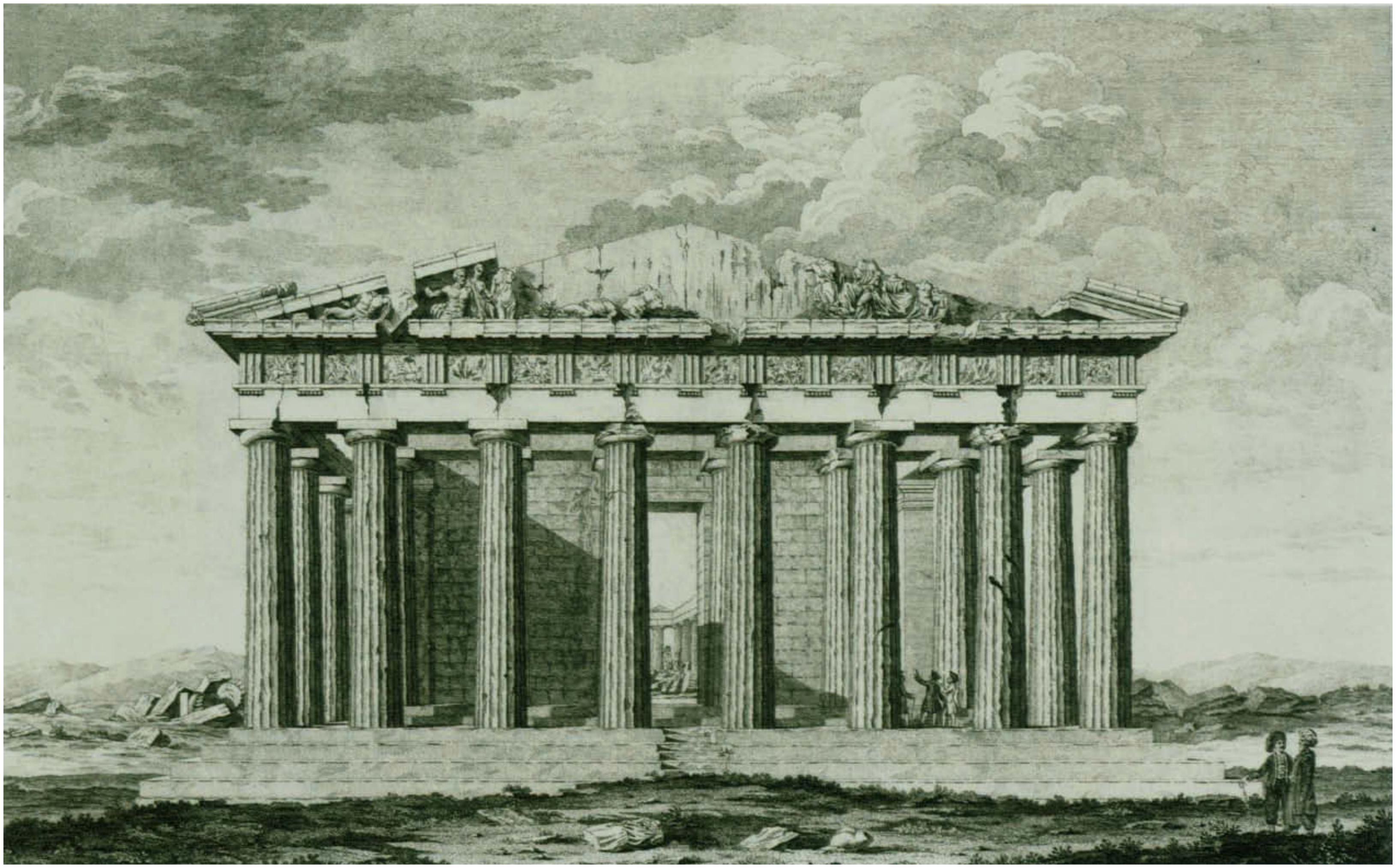


Figure 6.
EDWARD ROOKER
(English, 1712?–1774),
after Richard Dalton
(English, 1715?–1791),
A View of the Parthenon or Temple of Minerva at Athens,
1751. Engraving.
GRI 85-B23048.

as virtually intact. Furthermore, it is evident from the drawings commissioned by Charles-François Olier, marquis de Nointel, in 1674 that, apart from the collapse of the central portion of the east pediment—probably due to the construction of the apse in late antiquity—the pedimental sculpture remained largely untouched up to the Morosini bombardment, even though many heads and limbs had not survived the passage of time. The drawings commissioned by Nointel, which besides the pediments include the metopes and frieze, are attributed to Jacques Carrey and are in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; they provide the best information we have today—visual or otherwise—about the Classical sculpture of the Parthenon.

Dalton's 1751 drawing is a sad reminder of the damage caused by the bombardment. Further damage would result from the pillaging of the Parthenon, and the Acropolis generally, initiated by Thomas Bruce, the seventh Earl of Elgin, in 1801.[23] Directed by Lord Elgin's authorized representative, the painter Giovanni Battista Lusieri, teams of workers seized many



of the statues that remained of the pediment or were buried in the citadel ruins. They took down more than fifty slabs from the frieze of the Parthenon as well as fifteen of the metopes. They also removed one of the Erechtheion Caryatids—Lord Elgin's chaplain, Philip Hunt, even suggested that the entire Caryatid Portico be dismantled and reconstructed in England—as well as part of the frieze on the Temple of Athena Nike. In 1816 Lord Elgin's collection was sold to the British Museum, where the sculptures were put on display the following year and where they have remained to this day. These were only some of the more famous items that made their way to the British Museum. In Mycenae, Lord Elgin—having taken some pieces from the facade of the Treasury of Atreus, the largest of the tholos tombs in Mycenae—even cast his eye on the Lion Gate.[24] But its distance from the sea, coupled with the difficulties of transportation, forced him to abandon that project.

Lord Elgin must have had at least a pang of guilt, for in 1811 he presented the city and people of Athens with a clock. A tower was constructed for it in 1814 in what was then the bazaar—not far from what is today the bustling center of Monasteraki—near the Fethiye Djami and the Tower of the Winds. Among the most remarkable and idiosyncratic buildings of Classical antiquity, the Tower of the Winds (more properly, the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes) was itself an elaborate combination sundial, water clock, and weathervane.[25] The two towers are illustrated in a number of early and mid-nineteenth-century watercolors and engravings.[26] They are shown, juxtaposed with a towering palm tree, in a haunting 1842 daguerreotype by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey. (For a discussion and illustration of this picture, see Stewart, pp. 74–75.) The Tower of the Winds, along with the arches of Hymettian marble of the wrongly named Agoranomion illustrated in Girault de Prangey's image, stand taller today because the ground level was lowered by archaeologists excavating the area of the Forum of Caesar and Augustus. The palm tree and clock tower no longer survive; the latter was damaged by fire in 1884 and demolished the following year.[27] In the time of Lord Elgin and Lord Byron, the Tower of the Winds was occupied as a Tekke by dervishes, whose performances were immortally captured by Edward Dodwell in two colored engravings dated April 5, 1805.[28]

It was Lusieri, Lord Elgin's representative, who sometime between 1800 and 1809 made a fabulously photo-realistic watercolor of the Philopappos Monument that is in the Earl of Elgin's collection.[29] In 1805 Dodwell prepared a similarly photo-realistic engraving depicting a view of the Parthenon from the Propylaia (fig. 7). Lusieri's and Dodwell's representations, like many works of that time, are worthy antecedents to photography, as they highlight an approach to illustration that stresses the then-emerging recognition of the role played by historical topography.

Dodwell had in fact found the perfect spot from which to make his view, atop the north wall of the Propylaia.[30] What this image reveals, as do numerous seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and early nineteenth-century illustrations, is the extent to which the citadel was inhabited. Although the main area of habitation in Athens, from the thirteenth century on, was situated on the north side of the Acropolis—in part to conceal much of the populated area from view from the sea—illustrations such as Dodwell's show that the Acropolis had the potential to accommodate a great many people and that it could function as the nucleus of a substantial urban settlement.[31] Within a few decades after Dodwell made his view, almost all the prominent Byzantine, Frankish, and Ottoman structures on the citadel visible in figure 7 had been cleared as part of an official policy of the new Greek state to bring the Classical Acropolis back to life. The result was not only the destruction of the later Athenian Acropolis but also a revitalization that was very much defined by the Neoclassical sensitivities of the archaeologists of that day.[32]

The birth of a new nation and the process of nation-building collided in a remarkable way with archaeology and European ideals, and early photographers, with their newly developed techniques, were there to capture it all.[33] Remnants of some of the houses, as well as portions of streets or paths seen in Dodwell's view were still visible in the engraving, dating to 1842, by Frédéric Martens after an 1839 daguerreotype by Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière (published by Noël-Marie-

Paymal Lerebours), showing the Parthenon and its immediate surrounding from the northwest (fig. 8). As Andrew Szegedy-Maszak elaborates, Joly de Lotbinière commented in a note accompanying this view that it "was made in the autumn of 1839; I mention this fact because it was the first time the image of the Parthenon was fixed on a plate by Daguerre's brilliant invention, and because each year can bring new changes in the appearance of these famous ruins."[34]

The mosque visible in the cella of the Parthenon was constructed during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century and was briefly used as a museum before its demolition in the early 1840s. Many of the same remnants were still visible in the salted print made by the Reverend George Wilson Bridges in 1848 (fig. 9), but these ephemera of Ottoman Athens were not to remain for long. In August 1834, several months before Athens was proclaimed the capital of Greece, a young King Otto officially visited the Acropolis with the regents, ministers, and others in his entourage. Seated on a throne in the Parthenon, he heard the German architect Leo von Klenze deliver a speech in which he inaugurated the Acropolis excavations and promised to remove all vestiges of barbarity in order to reveal the remains of the glorious past as the "solid foundation of a glorious present and future."[35]

Joly de Lotbinière's comments were to prove prescient. The extent and the pace of the nineteenth-century interventions on the Acropolis were phenomenal; they can be gleaned by comparing two photographs of the Acropolis South Slope taken, respectively, about 1860–1865 (fig. 10) and about 1880 (fig. 11). The earlier view, by Dimitrios Constantin,[36] shows the so-called Frankish Tower and the soil dumps generated by the cleaning operations of the Athens Archaeological Society, which adopted the expedient technique of simply throwing the debris over the south wall of the Acropolis.[37] Some fifteen years later, as the albumen print by Constantine Athanassiou shows, not only were the soil dumps gone—the earth and debris dumped over parts of the area known today as Makriyianni, to the south and southwest of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus—but so, too, was the Frankish Tower.

The tower had been erected by the Florentine rulers of Athens in the late fourteenth century; built into the southwest corner of the Propylaia, it formed part of the medieval fortifications of the citadel. Its demolition in 1875 was largely funded by none other than Heinrich Schliemann, excavator of Mycenae, in an attempt to reveal a purer, more Classical, Acropolis.[38] What is important to bear in mind is that both photographs predate the large-scale excavations that Panayiotis Kavvadias, with Wilhelm Dörpfeld and Georg Kawerau, conducted between 1882 and 1890; these revealed the substantial Archaic podium of the Parthenon, the temple best known as the Dörpfeld Foundations, the Chalkotheke, the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, the Temple of Roma and Augustus, the Archaic *korai* (statues of maidens), and a plethora of pre-Persian pottery and other small finds.[39]

A photographic view taken on the Acropolis that predates the Kavvadias, Dörpfeld, and Kawerau excavations as well as the Frankish Tower demolition is the albumen print of 1870 by Petros Moraites (fig. 12). It shows both the Propylaia and the Erechtheion, including the Caryatid Portico (in the center), "liberated" from the later remains that are visible in Dodwell's engraving, though the Frankish Tower looms large and a sizable medieval cistern—still there today—captures the foreground. The same cistern was the focus of Girault de Prangey's daguerreotype of 1842 (see fig. 11, p. 83).

But the edifice that was truly liberated from the Byzantine and post-Byzantine clutter all around was the Parthenon. Moraites's classic image of the temple, taken from the northwest, not only displays the Parthenon in its post-Morosini bombardment state but also populates the image with gentlemen in European attire and a Hellene in traditional costume (fig. 13).[40] Ancient and contemporary Greece were captured in the one image. Here was a quintessential Neoclassical vision of antiquity depicted, an antiquity brought to life by archaeology. Yet because of archaeology, virtually no trace survives today of numerous substantial structures that were standing intact less than two hundred years ago. Several centuries of use and occupation are now lost from human view.



Figure 7. EDWARD DODWELL (English, 1767–1832), *View of the Parthenon from the Propylaea*, 1805. From Edward Dodwell, *Views in Greece, from Drawings by Edward Dodwell* (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1821). Reproduced by permission of Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.



Figure 8. *The Parthenon.* Engraving by Frédéric Martens of 1842 after daguerreotype of 1839 by Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière. From Noël-Marie-Paymal Lerebours, *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris, 1842), plate 24. Image, 15.1 × 20.3 cm (5 15/16 × 8 in.). JPGM 84.XB.1187.24.



Figure 9. Rev. George Wilson Bridges (English, 1788–1863), *The Parthenon*, 1848. View from the northwest. Salted paper print, 16.7 × 21.5 cm (6⅜ × 8½ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (02.02).



Figure 10. Dimitrios Constantin (Greek, active 1858–1860s). General view of the Athenian Acropolis and the South Slope from the southwest, ca. 1860–1865. Albumen silver print, 28.6 × 38.7 cm (11¼ × 15¼ in.). JPGM 84.XM.366.2.



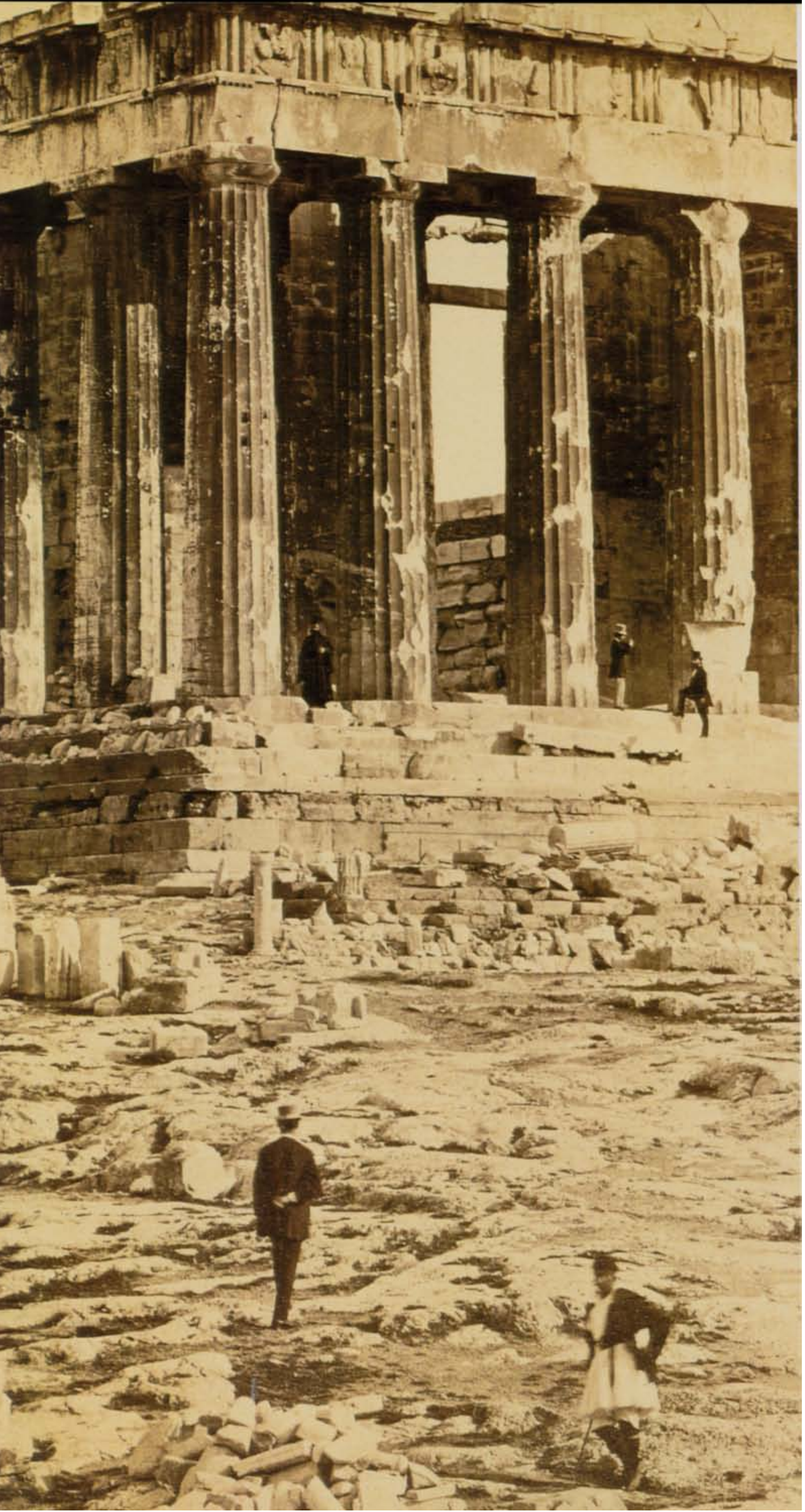
Figure 11. Constantine Athanassiou (Greek, active 1875–1896). General view of the Athenian Acropolis and the South Slope, after the removal of the soil dumps and the Frankish Tower, ca. 1880. Albumen silver print, 20.2 × 25.9 cm (8 × 10¼ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (04.01.07).



Figure 12. Petros Moraites (Greek, ca. 1835–1905, active Athens 1860s–1870s), The Erechtheion and the Propylaia, 1870. Albumen silver print, 37.8 × 50.3 cm (14⅞ × 19¹³⁄₁₆ in.). JPGM 85.XM.368.3.



Figure 13. Petros Moraites (Greek, ca. 1835–1905, active Athens 1860s–1870s). The Parthenon "liberated," 1870. Albumen silver print, 37.3 × 50.5 cm (14 11/16 × 19 7/8 in.). JPGM 85.XM.368.1.



The view presented by Moraites in 1870 has become a metonymic representation of contemporary Greece. The other preferred view, so well captured in the photographs by Constantin and Athanassiou (see figs. 10, 11), shows the entire Acropolis from the southwest, though even in those images the Parthenon is the anchor, dominating the center of the frame. The photographs were taken from the Hill of the Muses, the ancient summit that had been crowned in the early second century A.D. by the monument of C. Julius Antiochus Philopappus (Philopappos), a prince of Commagene, who had a distinguished career as a Roman consul and praetor and as an Athenian citizen. Virtually intact in the mid-1430s, when Ciriaco d'Ancona saw it, it later became a ruin, though much of it is preserved today. The monument of Pentelic marble placed on top of Philopappos's tomb faces toward the Acropolis and became one of the most visible features of the topography of Athens, so much so that in the course of time the hill itself came to be known as Philopappou. From the monument one has a sweeping view not only of the Acropolis but also of Mount Hymettos, the Attic plain with its encircling mountains (including Pentelikon), and the Saronic Gulf, with the islands of Aigina and Salamis. Constantine Athanassiou captured the monument well in an albumen print from about 1875–1880 (fig. 14). The photograph highlights the "photographers' perch," for a camera tripod is just visible to the right of the monument. Standing where he took the photograph, Athanassiou simply had to turn 180 degrees to the left or right to see not only the Acropolis as rendered in figures 10 and 11 but also antiquity depicted.

Figure 14.
Constantine Athanassiou (Greek, active 1875–1896), The "photographers' perch" at the summit of the Hill of the Muses, showing the Philopappos Monument with camera tripod, ca. 1875–1880. Albumen silver print, 26.3 × 20.9 cm (10⅜ × 8¼ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (04.11.03).





Figure 15. Petros Moraites (Greek, ca. 1835–1905, active Athens 1860s–1870s), The City of Theseus, ca. 1865–1870. View from the southeast, showing the Arch of Hadrian and the Acropolis Southeast Slope. Albumen silver print, ca. 24.5 × 32.5 cm (ca. 9⅝ × 12¾ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (06.02.08).

The Ancient Topography of Athens

In this section I want to show how photographs can provide historical information for reading certain aspects of antiquity, particularly topography. I begin with an example that combines prehistoric and historic Athens. Sometime between 1865 and 1870, Petros Moraites set up his tripod and camera a little to the southeast of the Arch of Hadrian and captured an image of what can only be described as the city of Theseus (fig. 15). The Arch of Hadrian, an isolated gateway of Pentelic marble, was erected by the emperor Hadrian in about A.D. 132, in part as a dedication to his alma mater but chiefly to mark the interface between the ancient city of Athens and Novae Athenae, or Hadrianopolis, the new city of Hadrian. The arch, however, is not at the center of the photograph. Indeed, it is not immediately clear what, exactly, Moraites was trying to frame, since the far, west end of the Acropolis—where hundreds of thousands of visitors today ascend and descend—is just outside the frame, and the arch, at the right, vies with the east end of the Acropolis for attention. Several clusters of men stand near the arch, most of them dressed in western attire, including a row of distinctly unthreatening gendarmes, while a bolder figure, wearing a traditional Greek costume, is conspicuous in the far-right foreground.[41] A line of trees at left helps frame the ancient hillside and the numerous contemporary buildings below it. At the actual center of the photograph is the small cave on the east side of the citadel, partly obscured by one of the soil dumps created by the Athens Archaeological Society.

If there is a theme to this image, it seems to be the relationship of the arch to the Acropolis. The viewer, however, cannot see the inscriptions on either side of the gateway. The one on the northwest facade, facing the Acropolis reads, "This is Athens, the former [or ancient] city of Theseus"; the inscription on the southeast side, facing the camera and the Temple of Olympian Zeus, proclaims, "This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus." The city of Hadrian is depicted in a number of early photographs taken from the east end of the Acropolis, not least one by Dimitrios Constantin that dates to about 1865 (fig. 16). It shows the standing columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the Arch of Hadrian, the Panathenaic Stadium (which would be reconstructed for the first Olympiad of the modern era, in 1896), and Mount Hymettos in the background.[42]

Whether or not Moraites was trying to render the city of Theseus is moot, though it is highly likely he was aware of the inscriptions on the Arch of Hadrian. What he cannot have known was that, by situating the cave at the center of his picture, he had captured the heart of Archaic Athens. Almost a century after the photograph was taken, a discovery was made of an inscription, in association with its original base in situ, that places the Sanctuary of Aglauros near the natural cave on the east side—the cave in our photograph—rather than on the Northwest Slope, as had previously been thought.[43] What the discovery implied was that several important monuments of old Athens—such as the Anakeion, the Theseion, the Prytaneion, and with them the original Agora, or marketplace—would have been located east of the Acropolis and therefore nearer the primary area of early habitation, which was south of the citadel. In light of this find, it is remarkable if not uncanny that Moraites's photograph, and the inscription on the northwest side of the arch announcing the "city of Theseus," face *exactly* the area of the Archaic Agora. Contrary to the traditional view, which places the Archaic Agora to the northwest, where the Classical (or New) Agora was located,[44] the discovery showed that the old marketplace was right here, in the heart of the city of the legendary Athenian hero Theseus.[45] The revisions to the topography of Athens are set out on the map (fig. 17).



Figure 16. Dimitrios Constantin (Greek, active 1858–1860s), The City of Hadrian, ca. 1865. View showing the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the Arch of Hadrian, the Panathenaic Stadium (before its modern reconstruction), and Mount Hymettos in the background. Albumen silver print, 28.5 × 38 cm (11¼ × 15 in.). GRI 92.R.84 (04.18.01).

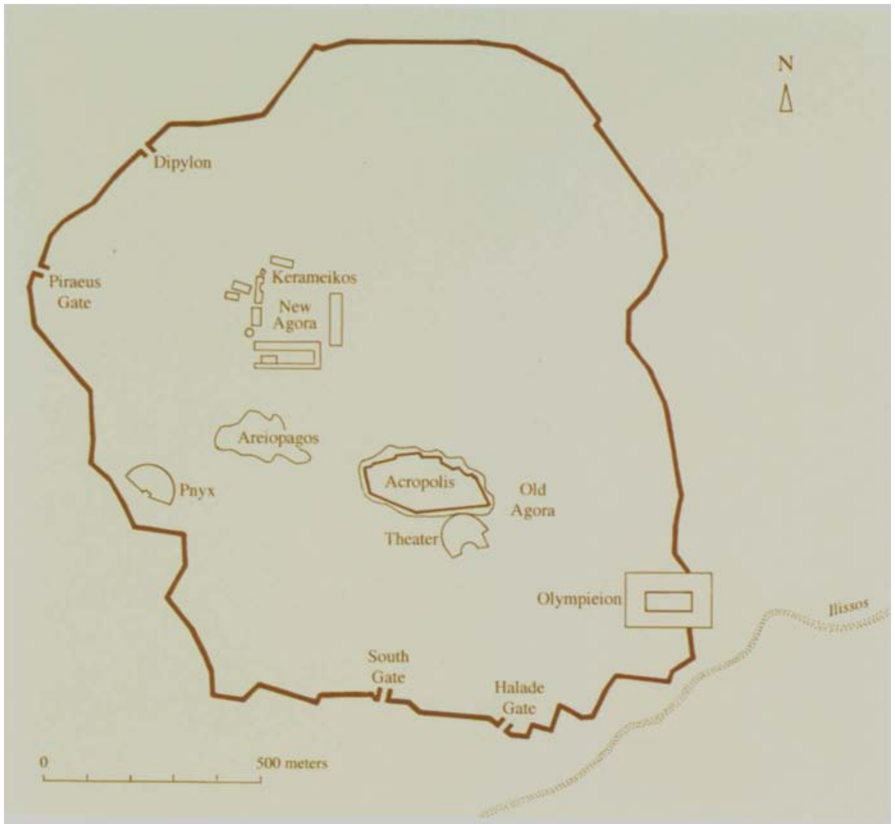


Figure 17.
Map of Athens, showing some of the more prominent topographical features of the ancient city discussed in this essay. Drawing by Anne Hooton.

Few areas of classical archaeology have received the sustained attention that has been bestowed on the topography of early Athens, and even fewer have remained so controversial. The bibliography on the subject is daunting, and one result of its sheer volume is that there has been a tendency to argue by response to previous scholarship rather than by a more straightforward assessment of the evidence in hand. The written word—ancient and modern—has loomed large in this scholarly endeavor, so much so that the material record has often been shaped by the literary testimonia, a process that can only be described as the tyranny of the text. Yet alongside the archaeological evidence stands the visual information provided by early photographs. These contain a wealth of physical detail, much of which no longer survives, that has the potential to cast considerable light on the history and topography of the monuments they illustrate. Among many such cases in point, I want to focus on one, the west side of the Acropolis, and the ceremonial entrance through which all modern visitors and many Classical-era visitors have gained access to the citadel.

The entrance illustrated in the view taken about 1854 by James Robertson (fig. 18)—a remarkably idiosyncratic photographer who captured noncanonical views of Athenian monuments—is known as the Beulé Gate, after the French archaeologist Charles-Ernest Beulé, who discovered it in 1852. It consists of a marble wall set between two unequal pylons pierced by a gateway that is aligned with the central opening of the Propylaia. The wall served a defensive purpose; it was erected in A.D. 280 following the Herulian sack of Athens and was paid for by F. Septimus Marcellinus. The gate was built of stones from the destroyed Choregic Monument of Nikias. The angle of Robertson's view hides the little Temple of Athena Nike, but it is there, perched above its bastion and between the bastion and the Frankish Tower.[46] Today, the Beulé Gate—which chiefly serves as the exit from the Acropolis, the entrance being a little to the southwest—cannot be fully enjoyed due to the fencing, the landscaping of trees and shrubs, and the stone pathways that were designed by Dimitris Pikionis.[47]

Upon entering the Beulé Gate, one is confronted with the Classical-era entrance to the Acropolis, the Propylaia designed by the architect Mnesikles,[48] and the image of antiquity depicted that William James Stillman captured in an 1869 photograph of remarkable clarity (fig. 19). (For more on this image, see the essay by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak in the present volume, pp. 168, 173.) In Classical times, when there was no Beulé Gate, the Panathenaic Way ended in a steep ramp that went straight up to the Propylaia gateway, its steepness created by the natural contours of the hill. Stillman's photograph shows it all: the Propylaia, the Temple of Athena Nike and its bastion, and the Monument of Agrippa. Indeed, the bastion and monument frame the picture horizontally. What the image also reveals is something that scholars have only recently come to learn, something that was much more clearly visible around 1869, when the image was taken: an all-but-forgotten section of the Mycenaean wall of the Acropolis.



Figure 18. James Robertson (Scottish, 1813–1888), The Beulé Gate, the Propylaia, and the West Side of the Acropolis, ca. 1854. Salted paper print, 25.9 × 29.1 cm (10¼ × 11¾ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (03.01).



Figure 19.
WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN (American, 1828–1901), Detail of *The western façade of the Propylaia, with the Temple of Victory and the ancient steps*, 1869. From William James Stillman, *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 6. Carbon print. JPGM 84.XO.766.4.7.

Through the latest scholarly reconstruction of the west entrance to the Mycenaean Acropolis, published in 1999, it has become evident that this wall was used in multiple phases and that it was more substantial than had previously been assumed.[49] The critical evidence is a line of "Cyclopean" boulders, hammer-dressed in typical Mycenaean fashion. These remnants have been worn down by the feet of millions of visitors, with the result that the characteristic finish of the blocks can now be seen only in raking light, preferably in late afternoon as the sun sets. They are, however, clearly visible at the very center of Stillman's photograph, skirted by the little footpath that existed in the 1860s. Among other things, this restoration makes it clear that the predecessor of the Athena Nike bastion was an integral part of the Mycenaean fortification, and it avoids the necessity of restoring extramural terraces; it also brings the actual entrance system more in line with the Tiryns entrance system.[50] This was the very entrance to the Acropolis that the Persians in 480 B.C., after occupying the Areiopagos (see fig. 17), attempted to assail—to little effect. The Athenian defense was finally breached by a few soldiers who had scaled the sheer cliff on the east side, above the Sanctuary of Aglauros.[51] Read in this way, Herodotos's words, "in front of the Acropolis, but in back of the gates and the usual ascent," make perfect sense.[52] So here an old photograph helps clarify two long-standing problems of Athenian topography—one prehistoric, the other historic—by showing physical details that are barely present today.



A Cultural Biography of the Theseion

As monuments and objects are studied and restudied, new interpretations of the same material not only reveal a more compelling picture of the past; they also offer a sharper awareness of the preconceptions we bring to that picture and its reconstruction and (re)interpretation. In many ways, the physical things we study lead social lives and can be described through quasi-biographical narratives.[53] The usefulness of such an approach lies both in showing how objects are variously experienced and in providing a glimpse into "the social system and collective understanding on which it rests."[54] Patterns of use and wear, when coupled with depositional history, have the potential to reveal ancient lifeways, to cast light on particular events and individuals, and to tell many stories. The commemorative power of objects as a focus of memory is indelibly conveyed by Marcel Proust in his seven-part novel *À la recherche du temps perdu:* "The past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (in the sensation which that material object will give us) of which we have no inkling. And it depends on chance whether or not we come upon this object before we ourselves must die."[55]

For Proust the taste of a little piece of madeleine cake was enough to unleash waves of memory. Similarly, entire biographies can be brought to life by the discovery of objects, which, in the case of archaeological objects, often reside in museum displays or, if less fortunate, in storage facilities removed from daylight. Occasionally an object consigned to storage is removed from oblivion and put on exhibit, for all to see and enjoy. But most objects that have been discovered are publicly seen only via illustrations, be they photographs, drawings, paintings, or digital images. In this way, the modern biography of any archaeological artifact is very much in the hands of its illustrator.

For Proust, and for most archaeologists, it is the small portable object that looms large: *In Small Things Forgotten* is the title of James Deetz's classic archaeology of early American life.[56] This is because "objects anchor time."[57] Architecture, however, has the ability to crystallize both personal and collective memory and to anchor time in ways that few small objects can, precisely because of its stable nature. Peoples' interactions with architecture are very different from their interactions with small objects. Buildings have the ability to mold human experience, both through their interiors — in which people move, play out their social and ceremonial roles, and die — and through their exteriors, which form the very fabric of the built environment, particularly the cityscape.

To illustrate the impact of architecture on memory — its role in anchoring time — I want to focus on the cultural biography of a small building that is central to the topography of ancient and modern Athens alike. It is not only the best preserved of all ancient temples in Greece but also the most complete extant example of a Doric hexastyle temple. Ironically, the identity of the deity for whom the temple was built remains uncertain. Most classical scholars know the temple as the Hephaisteion, but modern Athenians call it the Theseion. At least one scholar has argued that it might be the Temple of Artemis Eukleia,[58] while others have referred to it as the "Theseum" or as "the building that has come to be known as the Hephaisteion," more as a matter of expediency than belief.[59] But Theseion is the name that has stuck most tenaciously. Indeed, the entire area around the building, including the railway station erected at the end of the nineteenth century and still in use, is known as Theseion.

The problematic issue of the god or goddess worshiped in the temple is linked to the identity of the statues of the deities that once stood on the statue base that is usually believed to have belonged to the interior of the building and about which much has been written;[60] it is usually restored to accommodate the lost statues of Hephaistos and Athena. The base, however,

was never in situ, and the two blocks of dark gray Eleusinian limestone that are often restored as the base for the cult statues were found reused in the modern east wall that replaced the apse of the church into which the temple had been converted in late antiquity.[61] It is even possible that both blocks were originally from the Temple of Athena at Sounion.[62] But whether Theseus, Hephaistos and Athena, or Artemis Eukleia were worshiped in the little temple, study of the deposits associated with its construction suggests a date in the earlier fifth century B.C., sometime not long after the Battle of Salamis, rather than later in the century, as it is currently thought.[63]

Perched above the Classical Agora, the temple stood amid metalworkers' workshops and other industrial establishments. As noted, an apse was added when it was converted for use as a church, and the building was further modified around 1300, when it was rededicated as the Church of Saint George.[64] In *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* (1770), Julien-David Le Roy wrote that the Greeks were still using it "as a church, despite the jealousy of the Turks, who envy them the possession of so fine a building," adding that Saint George "is much venerated in Athens."[65]

Le Roy's commentary was accompanied by a highly picturesque rendering of the temple—prepared by Jacques-Philippe Le Bas after an original by Le Roy—that makes the building resemble an archaeological ruin rather than a functioning church (fig. 20). Influenced by eighteenth-century sensibilities and particularly by the work of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Le Roy's drawings bear the mark of fantasy and lack the precision of the contemporary drawings by Stuart and Revett. Le Roy was, however, careful to place the temple in its topographical context, on top of a low knoll, the Kolonos Agoraios. Immediately to the left towers the west entrance of the Acropolis, complete with the Frankish Tower (cf. figs. 10, 12). Beside the Acropolis and right behind the Theseion is the rock of the Areiopagos, and at the far right stands the Philopappos Monument (cf. fig. 14). Almost a century after the second edition of Le Roy's book was published, Petros Moraites set up his tripod northwest of the Theseion, notably farther away from it than Le Roy had stood, to shoot an image that takes in the entire Acropolis, including the Frankish Tower, as well as much of the Areiopagos (visible just to the right of the citadel), but not the Philopappos Monument (fig. 21). A related view shows the Theseion straight on from the west, with the Acropolis and the Areiopagos in the right background, in Peter von Hess's 1839 oil painting depicting the *Reception of King Otto of Greece in Athens* (fig. 22).[66]

Otto (or Othon, to use the Greek spelling) had first visited Athens in May 1833 to examine the antiquities and begin searching for a new residence. His provisional capital was at Nauplion on the Gulf of Argos, where he had disembarked on February 6, 1833. Otto was to make three more visits to Athens that year. In the autumn he entered the city by the Arch of Hadrian, which had been specially adorned with a wreath bearing the words, "This is Athens, the city of Theseus and of Hadrian, now of Otho."[67] In October 1834 the government in Nauplion ordained that on December 13, 1834, Otto would move to Athens and that the city would from that day forward be the capital of Greece.[68]

As the von Hess painting shows, the orchestrated reception of Otto took place not on or near the Acropolis, as one might have expected, but at the little temple with its Church of Saint George inside. The church saw its final services on December 13, 1834, when a solemn *Te Deum* was sung to celebrate the king's arrival in the new capital. Precisely one month earlier, on November 13, the Theseion had been decreed as the "Central Public Museum for Antiquities"; it would serve as the first National Museum of Greece.[69] Initially, the Theseion was used as an exhibition space. Later—at least through 1934—it was used for antiquities storage.[70]



Figure 20. Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (French, 1707–1783) after Julien-David Le Roy (French, 1724–1803), *View of the Temple of Theseus in Athens.* From Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), plate 8.



Figure 21. Petros Moraites (Greek, ca. 1835–1905, active Athens 1860s–1870s), *The Kolonos Agoraios and the Athenian Acropolis*, ca. 1870. View from the northwest. Albumen silver print, ca. 25 × 33.5 cm (ca. 9⅞ × 13⅛ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (06.02.12).



Figure 22. PETER VON HESS (German, 1792–1871), *Reception of King Otto of Greece in Athens, 13 December 1834*, 1839. Oil on linen, 2.48 × 4.10 m (97⅝ × 161½ in.). Munich, Neue Pinakothek, inv. WA 353. Photo: Artothek/Joachim Blauel.

James Robertson's salted paper print of about 1853–1854 shows the Theseion from the outside as a museum (fig. 23). Several antiquities are visible along the south colonnade, including a Roman sarcophagus. In the foreground, in what had become Theseion Square, stands a statue that is being carefully inspected by a gentleman wearing a white lab coat. This quintessential image of a European *conservateur* is counterbalanced by the man on the other side of the statue, dressed in traditional Hellenic costume, and by several other men wearing fezzes; here was a classic amalgam of Greeks, Turks, and Europeans in post–War of Independence Athens. The sculpture-cluttered museum interior is best seen in an albumen print by Pascal Sébah dating to about 1872–1873 (fig. 24). The photograph is labeled at bottom-left, "Tombeau de Bacchus au Temple de Thsée [*sic*]," no doubt a reference to the Roman sarcophagus at the right.

The early Classical temple dedicated to an unidentified deity (or deities) that had been converted into the Church of Saint George was now the Central Archaeological Museum and, as such, indelibly linked with the new life of Athens as a modern European city. What the temple had not yet attained was its status as an archaeological site. That would not happen until the early 1930s, when the American School of Classical Studies at Athens began its excavations in the Athenian Agora. Colin Renfrew called those excavations "one of the great triumphs of urban archaeology of recent years, bringing to life in a remarkable way many aspects of the world of Classical Athens, which had hitherto been glimpsed only in the often slight and scanty passing references preserved in the writings of the Classical authors."[71] This achievement was all the greater, since, unlike other sites that had never been lost to human view, the location of the Athenian Agora had long been uncertain. Not only did the excavations bring to light the heart of the Classical city, but they also represented a remarkable feat of diplomacy, involving the successful expropriation, at the request of the Greek government, of more than three hundred sixty individual properties.[72]

Initiated in 1931, the excavations continued at a staggering pace until being suspended in April 1940, in the course of the tenth season. As World War II spread across Europe and political conditions in Greece quickly became less stable, American School staff members who so desired were given the option of leaving "before Mediterranean waters were closed to American shipping."[73] The pace and extent of the work can be gleaned from the fact that, in the course of the first nine seasons, some two hundred forty-six thousand tons of earth were removed from the American excavation zone.[74] What the Theseion and the area that was to become the west side of the Classical Agora looked like prior to these excavations can be glimpsed in an albumen print by Dimitrios Constantin from about 1858 that shows the Theseion as if floating above a sea of houses, all of which were subsequently demolished (fig. 25).[75]

In February 1939, after spending two years clearing the rest of the Kolonos Agoraios to bedrock, the Agora excavators returned to the Theseion to remove the earth filling and Christian burials from within the building. Their aim was to study its foundations, construction filling, and any remains that might survive of an earlier sanctuary on the site. It was at this time that the building entered a new phase of its cultural biography. The excavations quickly revealed a series of post-antique layers into which a number of Christian burials had either been set down or had formed over tombs or had been placed on top of tombs. Some of the burials are clearly visible in an excavation photograph of the interior of the cella of the temple taken by Hermann Wagner in 1939 (fig. 26). William Bell Dinsmoor, who published his observations on the temple, divided the burials themselves into medieval and Protestant graves. Of the former, the great majority belonged to the period between 1057 and 1453.[76] Of the latter, the earliest was probably that of John Tweddell, who died on July 25, 1799. The use of the area for burials probably ceased immediately after the outbreak of the War of Independence.[77] It is worth elaborating that once the war was over, the Theseion would have been an unlikely location for a burial ground because of the important role it assumed in the creation of modern Athens.



Figure 23. James Robertson (Scottish, 1813–1888), *The Theseion*, ca. 1853–1854.
View from the north. Salted paper print, 25.5 × 30.5 cm (10 × 12 in.). GRI 2001.R.1 (b.2-1).



Figure 24. PASCAL SÉBAH (1823–1886, active Constantinople). Interior of the Theseion, showing the sculpture collection of the then National Museum of Athens, ca. 1872–1873. Albumen silver print, 26.1 × 32.7 cm (10¼ × 12⅞ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (04.13.04).



Figure 25. Dimitrios Constantin (Greek, active 1858–1860s). The temple on Kolonos Agoraios and the west side of the classical Athenian Agora, ca. 1858. View from the southeast. Albumen silver print, 26.3 × 36.8 cm (10⅜ × 14½ in.). GRI 92.R.84 (03.13).



Figure 26.
HERMANN WAGNER (German, n.d.). Interior of the Theseion cella, view from the east, showing late burials under the floor, 1939. Courtesy Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

As a monument, the building, along with Theseion Square, came to occupy a central position both physically and symbolically in the newly created Greek capital. This is clearly depicted in a wonderful panoramic photograph by Félix Bonfils showing Athens as it looked around 1875 (fig. 27).[78] The Acropolis dominates the top-right corner, while Lykabettos Hill (with Mount Hymettos and Mount Pentelikon behind) takes up the upper center. Stretching out to the north of the Acropolis and to the west of Lykabettos is the city itself, and at the very center of the image is the small temple that has been variously known as the Theseion, the Hephaisteion, or the Temple of Artemis Eukleia. Today, Athens has expanded enormously beyond the small confines of the nineteenth-century town, yet the basic topographical structure of Bonfils's image can still be seen within the post–World War II cement metropolis.

Beginning with von Hess's *Reception of King Otto* (see fig. 22), most representations of the Theseion bring to the fore the symbolic value of the building in terms of national identity. When combined with more picturesque representations, such as figures 20 and 21, these images blur the line between reality and the ideal, and they allow us to approach and view monuments from a multiplicity of perspectives.

Coda: Between Reality and the Ideal

The early photographic images of Greece were, in effect, constructed landscapes documenting the nascent years of a nation that looked to and drew inspiration from the past — a past that was partly imagined and partly physical, one that existed by virtue of stone buildings that, although decayed, had survived the ravages of time. By focusing their lenses on subjects that were, at the same time, literary topoi that had captured and entranced the western world — from Romantic poets such as Lord Byron to German, French, and British classicists — and topoi that were in their splendor very much real, early photographers blurred the line between landscapes of reality and landscapes of myth. As Simon Schama has noted, landscapes of myth are not mere "constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock"; they are physical wood and water and rock turned into myth.[79] Part of this blurring of reality and myth was achieved by the very "hardness and permanence of rock as a material."[80] There is no denying the sheer physicality of the Parthenon in Classical Athens, as in nineteenth-century and modern Athens, and it will remain forever linked with the names of its creators: Pericles, Pheidias, Iktinos, Kallikrates. This interplay with people — both those who died long ago and those, like the men in Petros Moraites's photographs, from a more recent past — makes the landscape so humanistic. As Hellmut Sichtermann put it so well:

> *The landscape is "humanistic," it cannot do without human beings. That the magic only totally unfolds when the human element appears in mythological form is not contradictory to this: the landscape especially makes the mythical element human, it guides it from a crystal-like isolation, from the limitation of the inter-human, as Greek art offers it, to breathing nature in which the human being becomes totally human—in fact: aware of its humanness.*[81]

Ruins transformed into archaeological sites provided the solid basis in which myths, history, moral teachings, and values were — are — embodied: a wonderful interplay of memory, imagination, words, and pictures. And photographers were there since the invention of photography, as they continue to be there,[82] to document a process and to construct enduring images that are irrevocably bound with expectations, reality, and the ideal.


Bonfils
Athenes N°1
Athenes N°2



Figure 27. Félix Bonfils (French, 1831–1885), Panorama of Athens, ca. 1875. View showing the Acropolis at the right, Theseion Square at left, and Lykabettos Hill in the background. Three albumen silver prints combined into a panorama. Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Manuscripts Division, Brunnow Papers, Box 15, figs. 544–46.

AN AMERICAN ON THE ACROPOLIS: WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN

Andrew Szegedy-Maszak

William James Stillman was one of those nineteenth-century figures whose industry and accomplishment continue to astonish. From extremely modest beginnings, he went on to befriend many of the era's most important intellectual and artistic luminaries, with whom he maintained an extensive correspondence. In addition to his myriad letters, he wrote fourteen books as well as hundreds of essays and reviews. He was at various times of his life a painter, editor, diplomat, spy, art critic, amateur archaeologist, political commentator, and journalist. He was also an uncommonly gifted, innovative photographer whose unquestioned masterpiece is *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), an album of twenty-five full-sized prints. I begin with a biographical sketch, taking Stillman up to the time he began work on *The Acropolis of Athens*, both because he led a fascinating life and because it illuminates principal motifs that inform his art. In the main section of the essay, I argue that in the Acropolis album Stillman produced a uniquely personal fusion of subject matter, style, and sequence.



A Brief Biography

In July 1860, while on a tour in Switzerland, John Ruskin penned one of his many letters to his friend Charles Eliot Norton, professor of art history at Harvard. Of his companion on the trip, Ruskin wrote:

> *I have had great pleasure, and great advantage also, in Stillman's society this last two months. We are, indeed, neither of us in a particularly cheerful humor, and very often, I think, succeed in making each other reciprocally miserable to an amazing extent; but we do each other more good than harm—at least he does me, for he knows much just of the part of the world of which I know nothing. He is a very noble fellow—if only he could see a crow without wanting to shoot it to pieces.*[1]

How was it that this boisterous young American—Stillman was barely thirty-two at the time—had become the fellow traveler and confidant of one of most eminent English authorities on art and culture? The brief, factual answer to the question is that Norton, Ruskin, and Stillman moved in the same intellectual circles, but such a dry summary barely hints at the very complex and extraordinarily interesting background to the story.

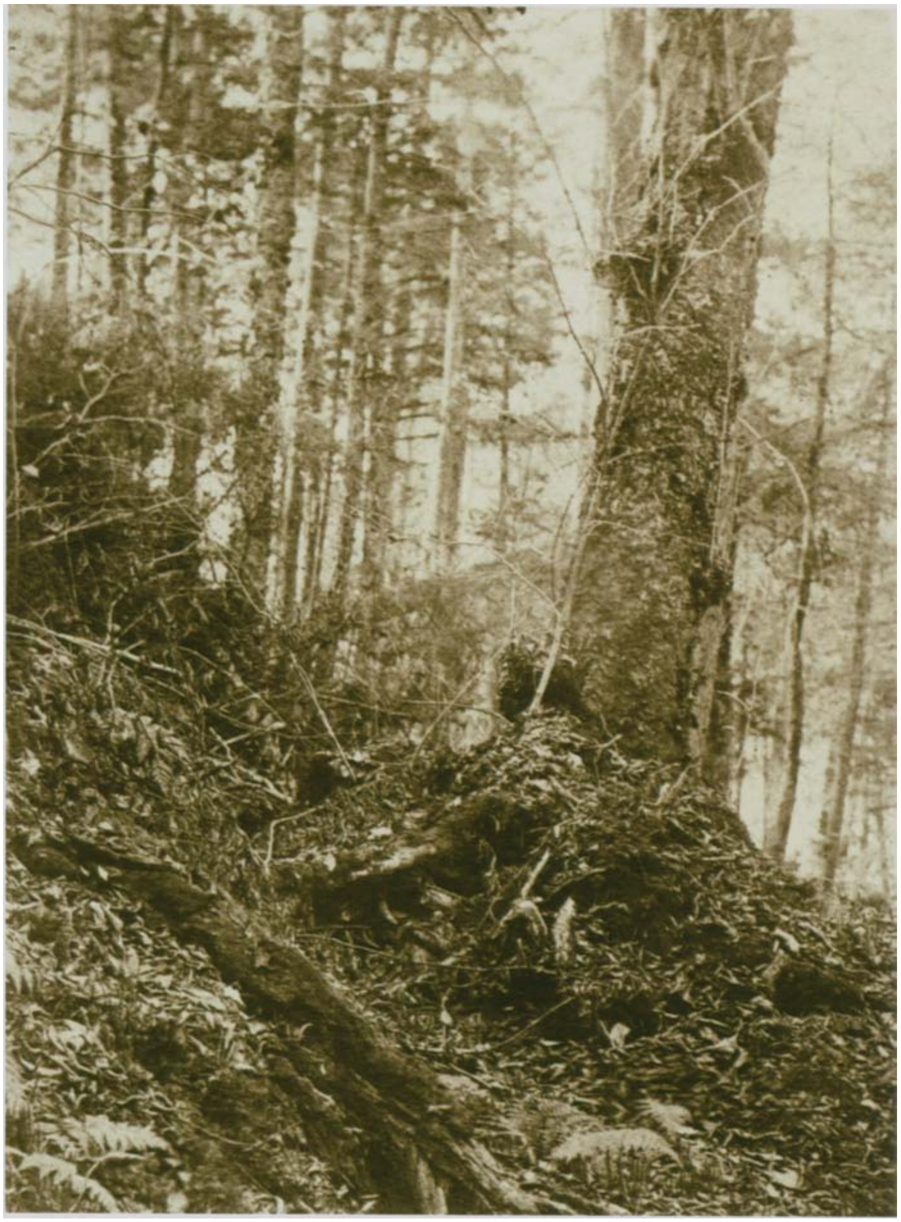
William James Stillman was born in Schenectady, New York, in 1828, the youngest of nine children. His forebears had been in America since the seventeenth century. The Puritans had expelled one of his ancestors from the Massachusetts colony because of religious nonconformism. Nearer predecessors had fought in the Revolutionary War, and Stillman wrote that his parents' childhood was "surrounded by the facts and associations of the war of American independence" (2).[2]

Religious fervor and intense patriotism were to be a formative combination in his life. His parents were of Yankee stock, and both were members of an evangelical Protestant sect, the Seventh-Day Baptists, or Sabbatarians. Their belief pervaded the household and was ironically described by Stillman as "amiable fanaticism, fervent without being uncharitable" (5). To the modern eye, the fanaticism is certainly apparent, though hardly amiable. Every aspect of life was hedged around with a terror of committing sin. Stillman's mother, whom he adored, constantly struggled with the deepest feelings of unworthiness and guilt. To avert corruption, they kept the boy from socializing with neighbor children, and his father once declared, "I would rather see you in your grave than in a dancing-school" (40). Moreover, the senior Stillman, who eked out a living with a small mechanic's workshop in their barn, had a violent temper that was further fueled by his religious convictions. He took literally the corrective power ascribed to the rod and the staff. Paternal beatings were a regular response to even the smallest infraction, and one thrashing was so ferocious that it drove the seventeen-year-old William briefly to run away from home. On his return, he made it clear that he would no longer tolerate such treatment, and, thanks also to his mother's intercession, it ceased.

Stillman found that the one mitigating feature of his father's harsh temperament was a genuine love of nature. To the distress of his wife, "He thought the woods and fields better places to pass the Sabbath in than a meeting-house" (76). Father and son would hike together for hours through the forest surrounding their home, and by his own account Stillman became an expert amateur naturalist. He could identify virtually all the plants, trees, birds, and animals he saw, and he acquired an interest in natural science of all kinds.

One can see in Stillman's relation to his parents the origin of a number of characteristics that would manifest themselves throughout his adult life. He never lost his attraction to nature, which he equated with a kind of freedom. In reaction against the bleak piety he had grown up with, he embraced a skeptical, rationalist attitude toward religion and eventually abandoned the strict observance his parents had enforced. Despite his agnostic stance, he quoted with evident agreement the aphorism, "No man can escape from the environment of his

Figure 1.
William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), Untitled. From *Photographic Studies by W. J. Stillman. Part 1. The Forest, Adirondac Woods* (1859). Albumen silver print, 19 × 14.6 cm (7½ × 5¾ in.). Courtesy of the Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, New York.



early religious education" (99–100).[3] He carried the lasting conviction that some kind of divine providence steered his life. "[I had] moreover an implicit faith in what I considered a kind of spiritual guidance in all I did," he wrote, "a delusion which at least served to keep me in absolute self-control on all circumstances" (207). Similar statements appear throughout his autobiography.[4]

Another lingering effect of Stillman's early religious training was a keen interest in "spiritism," as he called it in his autobiography. His fascination with the supernatural seems incongruous, given his otherwise progressive, rationalist, and skeptical views. In the chapter of his autobiography devoted to his research into the supernatural, he expresses only contempt for the professional mediums of his day, deriding them as self-promoting charlatans. Nonetheless, he leaves no doubt about his conviction that some people do have the power to communicate with the spirits of the dead. He recounts several sessions with various clairvoyants, one of whom, he writes, communicated with a brother of his who had died in a boating accident, and another who adopted the persona of J. M. W. Turner and revealed some esoteric details about that artist's method of drawing (192–95).[5] In 1853, during a long period of solitude in the woods of upstate New York, Stillman himself heard a voice that advised him of the path to take when he was lost. His interest in such arcana might easily be dismissed as a curious personal quirk, but I believe it also manifests itself in his photographs of ancient Athenian monuments.

Sabbatarian doctrine maintained that the world was divided into the saved and the sinful, and much of Stillman's later writing displays an uncompromising moralism. He implies, or even declares outright, that those who disagreed with him were not merely mistaken in their beliefs but also ignorant, devious, and malicious. His early adherence to fundamentalist Christianity also evolved into a strong tendency to ally himself with various secular creeds, whether of politics or art, and often to adopt the role of disciple to a series of powerful authority figures. Among the latter, Ruskin was arguably the most important.

Stillman's first intellectual mentor was Dr. Eliphalet Nott, whom he called "the most remarkable of all the teachers I have ever known" (83). Born in 1773 and educated at the College of Rhode Island (which became Brown University), the redoubtable Dr. Nott became president of Union College in Schenectady in 1804 and held the post until his death in 1866. Under his leadership, the college substantially expanded its curriculum, its endowment, and its student body, so that for a time it trailed only Harvard and Yale at the pinnacle of the American educational hierarchy. Nott took an intense personal interest in every aspect of his institution, and he attended with equal care to his undergraduates. His patronage endured after they graduated, and many of them attained prominence in the clergy, professions such as law and medicine, and politics.

Before arriving at Union College, Stillman had had an uneven academic career, even though he was exceptionally bright. He had distinguished himself by learning to read—and to read voraciously—at a very early age, but an attack of typhoid fever at age seven left him "a model of stupidity" (28). The fever and its aftermath were the first manifestations of the fragile health that would trouble Stillman for the rest of his life. After recuperating, he struggled in the classroom for several years, his only talent being an aptitude for drawing. While he was in secondary school in New York City, however, his mental dullness suddenly cleared, and he quickly rose to the top of his class. He learned Greek, Latin, mathematics, and history and excelled in them all. Yet his interest in art overrode all the subjects in the formal curriculum.

Stillman initially resisted the whole idea of going to college because he was so intent on becoming a professional painter. His father was equally determined that William should shun college to join the family business as an assistant in the workshop. Once again Mrs. Stillman exercised her formidable influence, with the result that William matriculated at Union.[6] His academic skills were so good that he skipped most of the first-year curriculum, meanwhile earning some money as a Latin tutor, and then entered as a sophomore. He studied the traditional liberal arts, which were presented in the customary manner of memorization and repetition, "little more than parrot learning" (95), until his senior year, when Dr. Nott himself conducted the discussion section. It was here that Stillman first encountered strenuous intellectual debate, with no argument allowed to go unchallenged, and he found the experience exhilarating. Even though he was ambivalent about the value of his education at Union, his studies there had lasting effects on his professional life. He developed a passionate interest in classical archaeology, and his training with Nott presaged his vigorous participation in various scholarly and political controversies.[7]

After graduation in 1848, Stillman devoted himself to art. He had received some rudimentary instruction from an itinerant British painter as well as from a local artist, with whom he went hiking and sketched landscapes. Seeking more serious training, he made arrangements to study with Thomas Cole, a leading American landscape painter, but Cole died a few months before the lessons were to begin. Eventually, Stillman contacted Frederic Edwin Church, who was in the early stages of an illustrious career and would go on to become one of the most renowned members of the Hudson River school of painting. Himself a pupil of Cole, Church took Stillman on as his own first student. In contrast to his abiding respect for Eliphalet Nott, Stillman's appraisal of Church was acerbic. Church's technique was superb, particularly in rendering the minute details of a view. For Stillman, however, such facility was superficial, empty of emotion or insight of any kind: "The primrose on a river's bank he saw with a vision as clear as that of a photographic lens, but it remained to him a primrose and nothing more to the end" (115). At almost the same time, he first encountered Ruskin's multivolume work *Modern Painters* and "received from it a stimulus to nature worship . . . which made ineffaceable the confusion in my mind between nature and art" (116). These two remarks, though both somewhat disparaging, exemplify much of Stillman's aesthetic philosophy. As he would show in his photographs, he always retained his fascination with nature and the genre of landscape, to the virtual exclusion of other subjects, such as portraits and still-lifes. In all the visual arts, which he later discussed in his copious critical writings, he prized a combination of precise depiction with personal interpretation, or even private symbolism.

Having decided to abandon his apprenticeship with Church, Stillman nonetheless kept painting on his own. In the winter of 1850, he spent a small windfall from the sale of one of his pictures to book passage on a boat to England. On his arrival, he set about meeting some of the artists whose work he had read about, and he befriended a dealer, Thomas Griffith, who specialized in the paintings of Turner.[8] As happened so often in Stillman's life, the combination of his own self-confidence and charm with sheer good luck—or, as he would have it, Providence—yielded exceptional results. Ruskin, who had made his mark as Turner's great champion, stopped by the gallery one day; Griffith introduced him to Stillman, whom he had alerted to the great man's impending visit. At this point in his autobiography Stillman is frustratingly mute about the course of his acquaintance with Ruskin, mentioning only that the critic invited him to his father's house, to see the family's art collection, and to his own home in London, where Stillman met several of the Ruskins' artist friends.

Stillman's career in art underwent a brief interruption after his return to America in 1851. That same year, the Hungarian patriot Lajos Kossuth was touring the United States to raise support for his project of freeing Hungary from Hapsburg domination, drawing large and highly enthusiastic crowds wherever he went.[9] Inspired by his fiery oratory, Stillman agreed to serve as a secret agent in the Hungarian cause. The mission was nothing less than to recover the Hungarian royal jewels, including the famous crown of Saint Stephen, which Kossuth had buried in a secret location after the unsuccessful Hungarian uprising of 1848–1849. Stillman received a section of a message in complex code that he was to deliver to another plotter in Budapest. He ordered a new pair of boots, one of which had a special hollow heel in which to carry the cipher.

Unfortunately, his tradecraft was not of the highest order. Reaching Budapest, he took a carriage directly to the apartment house where his contact lived. In fact, the man was hiding from the police, a detail Kossuth had failed to mention. When Stillman asked for him by name, the porter, worried that Stillman's carriage driver was a spy, loudly denied that any such person was resident in the building. Stillman spent the next weeks wandering aimlessly around the city, until his boot heels wore so perilously thin that he could no longer carry the concealed document in safety. One evening, fearing he was about to be arrested by the omnipresent secret police, he pulled off the boots and flung them into the Danube, thereby closing his career in espionage.[10] The whole episode has more the tone of comic opera than of cloak and dagger, yet it also illustrates the extent to which Stillman responded to charismatic, heroic figures, all the more when, like Kossuth, they appealed to his democratic politics and his sympathy for the underdog.

Painting, not spying, was Stillman's métier, and he stayed in Europe to study in Paris. As he had in London, he made the acquaintance of some of the most important figures in the art world, such as Eugène Delacroix, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Jean-François Millet, and he studied with Adolphe Yvon. In addition, he had a special attachment to Théodore Rousseau, with whom he studied and whom he declared to be the greatest of French landscape painters. Prefiguring some of his own later photographic work, Stillman praised Rousseau's dedication to one specific genre: "[He] concentrated all his feelings and labor on what he used to call *sujets intimes*, the picturesque nooks of landscape one can always find in a highly cultivated country, where nature is tamed to an intimacy with the domestic spirit" (167–68).[11]

On returning to America, Stillman first passed several months in his beloved Adirondack wilderness, painting and living almost completely alone.[12] It was there he experienced the spiritual visitation mentioned above, when a mysterious voice gave him directions. His stay seems to have functioned as a kind of rite of passage that left him prepared for the period of intense activity that followed. He moved back to New York City in 1854 and met William Cullen Bryant, famous both as a poet and as editor of the city's daily *Evening Post*. Bryant hired him to write on art for the newspaper; in a typical aside in his autobiography, Stillman deplores "the general incompetence of the newspaper critics of that day" (217). After a brief stint as art critic at the *Post*, he formed a partnership with John Durand, son of the painter Asher B. Durand, who was then serving as president of the National Academy of Design. Intending to raise the general level of aesthetic discourse and to remedy the lack

of any "publication in America devoted to the interests of art" (217), they founded a weekly journal they called the *Crayon*.

Although it lasted for only a few years, the *Crayon* was significant on a number of levels. It was the first serious American journal devoted to art and art criticism. With Stillman as its editor and principal writer, its purpose was avowedly pedagogical. The announcement that preceded its premiere issue, which appeared in January 1855, declared, "An effort has been organized, having for its object the education of our countrymen to the perception and enjoyment of beauty." The theme of public edification was frequently repeated thereafter, as were injunctions to learn from Nature, for another central part of the *Crayon*'s purpose was to disseminate Ruskin's philosophy of art.[13] The epigraph for the first issue came from *Modern Painters:* "Whence, in fine, looking to the whole kingdom of organic nature, we find that our full receiving of its beauty depends first on the sensibility and then on the accuracy and touchstone faithfulness of the heart in its moral judgments." Ruskin regularly supplied essays drawn from his lectures and answers to queries from readers. Thanks in large measure to Stillman's uncommon gift for cultivating friendships, other eminent artists and writers, both American and European, joined Ruskin on the roster of contributors.[14]

Stillman threw himself into this new project with his usual intensity. By his own account, he wrote well over half the content of each week's issue. Whether in editorials, book reviews, or casual commentary, his earnestness and passion pervade the journal. Working on Ruskin's principles, he was attempting to frame something like a unified-field theory of Art (always capitalized) that could provide common criteria for assessing different aesthetic media. The aim is utopian and the tone evangelical: "We think that pictorial Art is fully as emotional as musical Art, and that though the workings of the heart in one race of genius give rise to different manifestations . . . the spiritual endowments are, nevertheless, the same."[15] The *Crayon* reflected Stillman's capacious view of Art in offering essays on topics as varied as literature, music, theater, architecture, and the still young medium of photography. Week after week, he delivered the substantial lead essays. Their resonant titles—"Duty in Art," "Common Sense in Art," "Individuality in Art," "Beauty and Its Enemies," "The Creed of Art," "The Revelation of Art"—convey the sense of mission he brought to the undertaking.[16] He was convinced, with a fervor that now seems quite touching, both that Art has transcendent importance in human affairs and that his journal had the power to elevate the quality of aesthetic discourse in America.

There are a few core tenets to which Stillman keeps returning. He insists on rigorous training, beginning at an early age, so that no matter what medium nascent artists may choose, they will command all the necessary technical skills. As part of such training, they are allowed, even encouraged, to copy Old Masters. On reaching maturity, however, they must stop copying and find subjects in contemporary life to which they have some personal connection and can bring an individual interpretation. Fidelity to Nature, of course, is of paramount importance (though it is difficult to see how this applies to music). The list could be extended, but underlying all the injunctions and instructions is a demand that is fundamentally moral: the artist must always be honest. To outline Stillman's principles so briefly is to run the risk of parody. It is clear, however, that he had successfully identified and addressed an audience of his contemporaries, because the *Crayon* soon won a respectable number of subscribers and some popular recognition.[17] With the third volume (1856)—each representing six months' worth of issues—the publication schedule shifted from weekly to monthly, but the ongoing demands of writing, editing, and selling advertising space finally took their toll.[18] Once again, Stillman fell victim to some form of nervous exhaustion. He transferred sole management to Durand, under whom the *Crayon* lasted another three years.

It is difficult to gauge the extent to which the journal influenced the course of American art, but it certainly served to make Ruskinian principles more familiar to the public, and it confirmed Stillman's nickname "the American Pre-Raphaelite" (141).[19] Looking back almost four decades later, he grew nostalgic. "I have had a good deal of hard work and roughing it since," he wrote, "but I have never worked harder, or enjoyed my work more, than the eighteen months that gave life to *The Crayon*."[20]

One of the poets Stillman had published was James Russell Lowell, who became a close friend and through whom Stillman gained entry into the circle of eminent intellectuals living in Boston and Cambridge.[21] A bare catalogue of their names serves to evoke the mid-nineteenth-century American enlightenment. In addition to Lowell, the group included the natural scientist Louis Agassiz, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Charles Eliot Norton.[22] They invited Stillman to their discussion group, known as the Saturday Club, and he enlisted several of them to write occasional pieces for the *Crayon*. To reciprocate their generosity, he organized a couple of expeditions to the wilderness of upstate New York. The Saturday Club participants, including Agassiz, Emerson, and Lowell, thereupon dubbed themselves "The Adirondac Club."

Their most memorable outing took place in late summer of 1858. With Stillman as the organizing spirit and chief guide, they established for themselves "The Philosophers' Camp" in the woods near Follansbee Pond, an area that was then unspoiled and virtually trackless.[23] They spent their days hunting and fishing, hiking, and swimming, while their evenings were given over to serious conversations on all manner of subjects. Emerson wrote a long poem, "The Adirondacs," to commemorate the event; in it he extols "Stillman, our guides' guide, and Commodore, / Crusoe, Crusader, Pius Aeneas."[24] Stillman's own account of the trip gives a vivid sense of the camaraderie the men enjoyed. He also provides largely adulatory but illuminating portraits of Agassiz, Emerson, and Lowell. Diverse as their talents and personalities were, Stillman nonetheless ascribes to them some salient resemblances: a capacity for intensive work, single-minded integrity or "devotion to the truth" (251), and the ability to make even subtle and complicated ideas accessible to more than a small band of initiates. It is not difficult to see in Stillman's admiration of such men an idealized model of his own character.[25]

After three weeks most of the party went back to Cambridge, but Stillman stayed behind, painting in solitude until the weather grew too cold. When he returned to Boston, he became engaged to Laura Mack, daughter of a physician who had been his landlord in Cambridge. Typically, in this passage of the autobiography he devotes only a single sentence to Laura, whom he has never even mentioned, before launching into a lengthy account of another meeting of the Adirondac Club at which the members decided to buy a large tract of land in the New York wilds. As agent for the transaction, he returned to the upstate woods that winter and acquired a 22,500-acre tract for $600. Unfortunately, he also contracted what turned out to be a severe case of pneumonia and went south to Florida to recuperate. While there he learned the practice of photography, which entailed "a rude, inefficient and cumbersome apparatus and process for field work, of which few amateurs today can conceive the inconveniences" (283). This laconic dismissal of the inconveniences is almost all he says on the subject of his first attempts. We have no further information about what he learned or from whom, and no examples of his earliest work survive. He had, however, published articles in the *Crayon* approving of photography, for it uniquely responded to his insistence on utter precision in the depiction of nature.[26]

After regaining his health, he organized and presided over a visit by his Cambridge friends to their new property in the Adirondacks. Later in 1859, he published a small volume entitled *Photographic Studies by W. J. Stillman. Part 1. The Forest, Adirondac Woods*.[27] Dedicated "by permission" to the Adirondac Club, it consists of twelve plates (original albumen prints), almost all of which are tightly cropped studies of trees and vegetation. If one is to be candid, these studies are lovely but unexceptional, the work of a gifted newcomer to photography who was discovering its capacity to isolate and distill its subjects. Their interest stems from their relation to Stillman's writing and to his later photographs. In their attention to the minute details of bark and leaves, his pictures hew to Ruskinian principles, while they also show Stillman's fascination with nature and especially with the visual effects created by sunlight, here falling through a canopy of branches (fig. 1). An anonymous reviewer in the *Atlantic* was delighted:

> *We call the attention of our readers to a series of twelve photographic views of forest and lake scenery published by Mr. J. W. Black, Boston, from negatives taken by Mr. Stillman in*



Figure 2. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Tile roof, Rome*, ca. 1861. Albumen silver print, 15.9 × 24.1 cm (6¼ × 9½ in.). Courtesy of the W. J. Stillman Collection, Schaffer Library, Union College, Schenectady, New York.

the Adirondack country. The points of view are chosen with the fine feeling of an artist, and the tangled profusion and grace of the forest, with the moment's whim of sunfleck and shadow, are given with exquisite delicacy.[28]

Not surprisingly, the photographs show a close affinity with the landscapes Stillman painted in the same region.[29] The inclusion of "Part I" in the title indicates that he planned to produce additional fascicles, but the project ended there. He had, however, initiated a new stage in his artistic life, and he would maintain a serious attachment to photography for at least the next thirty years.

Despite his engagement to Laura Mack, Stillman was unable to settle down, and he decided to go back to England. He was already on good terms with the English Pre-Raphaelites — the critic William Michael Rossetti had been London correspondent for the *Crayon* — and now his links to the group grew even stronger, as he became a companion to Ruskin.[30] In 1860 the two embarked on the tour of Switzerland mentioned at the beginning of this essay. Each professed strong devotion to the other, with Ruskin citing his "great pleasure and great advantage also in Stillman's society"[31] and Stillman extolling Ruskin's brilliance, warmth, and generosity: "More princely hospitality than his no man ever received, or more kindly companionship" (308).

Such reciprocal admiration, however, was not enough to prevent frequent arguments. Their heated disputes on subjects such as religion seem to have been friendly sparring, but eventually they had a serious falling-out. The precipitating cause, of course, was Art. As he had once before, Ruskin harshly criticized one of Stillman's paintings. The shock inflicted by this reaction was amplified by the fact that this was the second time he had experienced such blunt disapproval from one of the mentors he most admired. Stillman cut the offending picture into pieces, burned the scraps, and then succumbed to a case of hysterical blindness.[32] He soon recovered his sight, and the personal breach eventually healed. He continued to affirm his unqualified respect and affection for the critic, whom he chose as godfather and eponym for his first son, John Ruskin Stillman, who was born in 1862 and nicknamed Russie. The negative aftermath was more far-reaching. Stillman had lost confidence in his ability to paint and gradually gave it up: "When I was free to return with undivided attention to my painting, my enthusiasm had cooled, and human interests claimed and kept me. Ruskin had dragged me from my old methods and given me none to replace them" (320). The episode exemplifies the volatile combination of reverence and rebellion that characterized his attitude toward Ruskin. The relationship between the two men was too asymmetrical, as of acolyte to hero, to allow for a comfortable exchange of views. We can see Stillman repeating the process that had broken him away from his youthful religious training. Although he came to reject Ruskin's all-encompassing authority, he never fully abandoned his commitment to Ruskin's aesthetic principles.

On leaving Switzerland, Stillman went to Paris, where he stayed for several months until a desperate message from his fiancée's father — saying that Stillman's long absence had left Laura near a breakdown — recalled him to America. He and Laura were married on November 19, 1860, two days after his arrival, and shortly thereafter they went to France. Their stay was pleasant, almost idyllic, until the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861. The Stillmans rushed back from Europe, and Laura moved in with his parents. None of Laura's correspondence survives, but one can imagine the distress this young woman must have felt at all the disruption in her life. Stillman intended to enlist in the Union army but was disqualified by his physical infirmities. Still eager to perform some kind of public service, he prevailed on his old teacher Dr. Nott. Due to Nott's intercession with the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, Stillman obtained the position of American consul in Rome.[33] His career as diplomat had begun.

At that time the foreign service was still the preserve of the well-to-do, and Stillman eked out a precarious living. He received no regular salary and now had to support not only himself but also his family at home, for Laura had given birth to Russie. He was entitled to charge fees for acting as a notary public and issuing passports and bills of lading, but the turmoil in the United States reduced the number of Americans requiring his services. Moreover, Italy in 1861 was also unsettled, nearing the end of the second stage of the Risorgimento, the

revolutionary movement that had begun in 1815 with the aim of establishing a united secular state, free of foreign and ecclesiastical domination. Despite his admiration for Pope Pius IX, who had allied himself with the forces of reaction, Stillman clearly took the side of the Risorgimento and its charismatic leader, Giuseppe Garibaldi.[34] His involvement with actual politics, however, was minimal and did not go much beyond some minor social skirmishing with American residents of Rome who were Confederate sympathizers.[35]

He sailed back to America to collect Laura and Russie. Shortly after they arrived back in Rome, a nasty bout of bureaucratic infighting forced Stillman out of his consulship; despite an earlier threat to resign, he is somewhat ambiguous in his autobiography about whether he quit or was dismissed. His new freedom, combined with the ambience of the ancient city, reawakened his interest in painting. "Rome was given up to art and religion," he observes, "it was still decaying, picturesque, pathetic and majestic" (340). By selling a few pictures and doing some journalism, he managed to provide for his family. He also continued the practice of photography, having acquired a state-of-the-art camera from an itinerant photographer who had decided to abandon the profession.[36]

For the most part, his photographic views of Rome, like his nature studies in the Adirondacks, are well done, and they show an increasingly sure command of the medium. A close-up of a tile roof, for example, is documentary in the best sense of the term (fig. 2). It depicts a mode of construction that is typical of the Mediterranean, therefore unusual and attractive to American eyes, and the point of view is one that would be unavailable to most casual visitors. The triangular composition places the lower fore-edge of the roof directly at the base of the frame, so that the roof and its single dormer and the adjacent walls become almost abstract geometric shapes. While completely factual, the photograph is also an elegant study in form and texture. In addition, although it may be complete coincidence, a cottage roof is the subject Ruskin used in *Modern Painters* to illustrate his concept of the picturesque (of which more below): "The essence of picturesque character has been already defined to be a sublimity not inherent in the nature of the thing, but caused by something external to it; as the ruggedness of a cottage roof possesses something of a mountain aspect, not belonging to the cottage as such."[37]

Stillman resumed his diplomatic career with a transfer to the American consulate on Crete. Unlike mainland Greece, which had won independence in 1832, Crete was still part of the Ottoman Empire. Stillman expresses undisguised contempt for the Turkish governor of the island, Ismael Pasha, dismissing him as "a renegade Greek . . . an unscrupulous scoundrel, who had grafted on his Greek duplicity all the worst traits of the Turk" (377). In terms of official duties, there were almost no American citizens who needed Stillman's attention, and he describes himself as "having no occupation but archaeological research and photography" (380). The photographs are predominantly views of the coastline and rugged mountain scenery (fig. 3).[38] The situation grew more perilous, however, when the Cretans began a rebellion against the Ottomans. The account of the ultimately unsuccessful Cretan uprising of 1865–1869 takes up three long chapters that begin the second volume of the autobiography; Stillman is considerably more interested in the minutiae of political maneuvering than in describing his own circumstances.[39] One learns only later and in passing that he and Laura now had two more children. Possible jeopardy to his family did not prevent him from becoming one of the most ardent champions of the insurrection, organizing foreign assistance and trying to rally support from the American government. After two years of such activity, he writes, "I had become the recognized official protector of the Cretans" (417). As he had with Kossuth and the Hungarians, or Garibaldi and the Italians, Stillman adopted the cause of a national liberation movement. On Crete, however, his democratic sympathies led him to play a much more active role than he had before, and the consequences were considerably more serious. By 1868 his intervention had so irritated the Ottoman regime that he was in real danger of assassination and had to flee the island. In November of that year, he and his family made their way to Athens.



Figure 3. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Le grand Langon*, Crete (Therissos Gorge, Chania), 1865–1868. Albumen silver print, 18.1 × 22.1 cm (7⅛ × 8¹¹⁄₁₆ in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.7.19.

One can scarcely imagine the desperate straits in which Stillman found himself.[40] His long-suffering wife, who had been prone to depression, gave in to "profound melancholy which became insanity accompanied by religious delusions from which she sought refuge in a voluntary death" (455). Not only did her suicide leave him alone with two little girls, the younger only four, but also, his beloved son, Russie, started showing symptoms of a debilitating illness that would ultimately prove fatal. What is more, the loss of his position left Stillman without even the meager income the consulship had provided, and money that had been promised by the Cretan Committee of America failed to materialize.

At such an utterly wretched time in his life, he turned to photography for solace: "I was myself nearly prostrated mentally and physically, and unfit for anything but my photography" (457). Stillman chose for his subject the monuments on the Acropolis, among the most famous—and most photographed—ruins in the world. In terms of equipment, he owned "everything necessary to correct architectural work" (454), by which he meant cameras that could correct the convergence of vertical elements, the optical distortion that makes buildings appear to taper radically toward the top or even to be toppling backward. Despite his crushing sorrow, he could still be acerbic about his motives. His old didactic impulse, with more than a hint of his occasional disdain for the Greeks, surfaces in his declaration that "[the ruins] had never been treated intelligently by the local photographers" (454).[41] In a January 22, 1869, letter to his old friend William Michael Rossetti, Stillman alludes briefly to his displacement but adopts a determinedly cheerful tone: "I am, in fine weather, amusing myself by taking a series of photos of the Acropolis; not only picturesque, but to show the technical characteristics of Greek architecture. It will comprise about twenty small views."[42]



The Acropolis of Athens

In 1870 the London firm of F. S. Ellis published a folio-sized volume of twenty-five views by Stillman (along with one small plate on the title page); the full-sized images, printed by the Autotype Company of London, all measure approximately 18 × 23 cm (7 × 9 in.), and each of them appears alone on the right-hand page, accompanied by a brief descriptive comment by Stillman on the facing page.[43] He titled this publication *The Acropolis of Athens: Illustrated Picturesquely and Architecturally in Photography.*

Before considering the photographs, we may note that the paired adverbs in the title are significant.[44] *Picturesquely* has a particular set of associations linked with Stillman's aesthetic philosophy, emphasizing the combination of the inherent beauty of a scene with the artist's interpretation of that scene. Ruskin's influence remains palpable here as well, for he was much concerned with the picturesque, and his definition underwent a considerable evolution.[45] In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), Ruskin lists some characteristics of the picturesque: "angular and broken lines, vigorous oppositions of light and shadow, and grave, deep, or boldly contrasted color."[46] He goes on to observe, "The picturesque is therefore sought in ruin, and supposed to consist in decay."[47] In the fourth and final volume of *Modern Painters* (1856), he enunciates a distinction between the "lower picturesque" and the "noble picturesque." The lower form is characterized by a cool, detached—Ruskin uses "heartless"—appreciation of a scene, no matter how much pain it might imply.[48] An example would be a picture of a peasant's cottage, perhaps visually appealing in its dilapidation but evincing a life of extreme hardship and poverty. The noble picturesque, on the other hand, is somewhat more nebulous. It derives its elevated status from artists' breadth of sympathy, a term that carries unmistakable religious overtones, and their comprehension of the larger implications of what they are trying to depict. Stillman was still strongly under Ruskin's spell, and in the title he chose for his folio, as well as in its subject matter and style, he was declaring his allegiance to the noble picturesque.





The second descriptive term in Stillman's title, *architecturally*, is almost equally ramified, in that it reflects his insistence on precise description. As he remarked in the letter to Rossetti, he wanted "to show the technical characteristics of Greek architecture." In a brief preface to the plates, he strikes a similar note of near-scientific accuracy and adherence to the objective facts: "The negatives from which the following Autotypes are printed have been, with one exception, left untouched, that nothing should injure the outlines, or diminish the architectural accuracy, of the Views.[49] The negatives are all produced with Dallmeyer's rectilinear lenses, and the facades, as far as practicable, photographed from points exactly equidistant from the extremities." Stillman's double claim to seek symmetry in the views and to avoid retouching the negatives—although he does not always adhere to it in practice—is meant to evince an ostensibly disinterested, objective approach. Although the additional technical detail about optics might puzzle some readers, it indicates that he was making use of the latest technology, for John Henry Dallmeyer had introduced his new, uniquely distortion-free lens only three years earlier, in 1866.[50] As we shall see, Stillman was also conversant with the most recent scholarship about construction techniques that the ancient Greeks had used.

Anne Ehrenkranz, who in 1988 organized a fine exhibition of Stillman's work and wrote much of its accompanying catalogue, provides a concise and useful outline of the contents: "five views circling the Acropolis from different compass points, three [actually two] of the Propylaia, one of the Temple of Athena Nike, ten of the Parthenon, five of the Erechtheion; and two of sculpture, a fragment of the Parthenon frieze and a figure from the Nike parapet."[51] In other words, the pictures can be seen as spiraling in on the Acropolis, beginning with distant views to establish its location and scale and then moving in for more detailed studies of its major monuments, and concluding with two close-up details of the art with which it was adorned. More abstractly, and more speculatively, I believe that Stillman crafted the sequence of photographs as a double narrative, which not only replicates the experience of the typical visitor but also portrays the Acropolis allegorically as a symbol of liberty.

The opening series of Stillman's album, as Ehrenkranz notes, incorporates views from the four cardinal points of the compass. The Acropolis does have pride of place, not only because it is his main subject but also because of the topographical facts: the plateau rises more than five hundred feet (some 156 meters) above the rest of the city.[52] The city's history includes the Periclean period and Classical glory, but of course it did not end there. Athens also shows significant traces of Roman, Byzantine, medieval, and Ottoman influence, and in 1835 it became the capital of the independent Greek nation. The "local photographers" Stillman disparages, along with most of their foreign colleagues, customarily tried to eliminate from their Acropolis pictures as much of the modern city as they could.[53] The first plate in *The Acropolis of Athens*, "View of the Acropolis from the Musaeum Hill" (fig. 4), seems to adhere to this convention, with a small cluster of contemporary buildings barely visible at the base of the Acropolis. At the same time, however, Stillman's purpose, like his picture, is radically different from the standard view. The fact that this image looks out from the Hill of the Muses is, as I have noted elsewhere, a reminder that the picture both records and springs from artistic inspiration.[54] Ruskin's principles dictated a complete fidelity to nature and thus an equally detailed concentration on all the planes within a picture. In all the long views, Stillman makes full use of the large glass-plate negative in order to give equal emphasis to foreground, middle distance, and background. This first photograph in the folio exemplifies such pictorial practice, as the craggy rocks in the right foreground anchor the composition. We viewers are not in a fantasy realm of antique splendor but in the real world, which has real boulders.

Indeed, many of Stillman's photographs emphasize the actuality of Athens both as a community within a natural landscape and as a cultural product of historical development. We may turn again to Ruskin, who declares that any ancient ruin in a European city has a special relation to time: "[T]he buildings of yesterday nestle about it, and fit their new stones into its rents, and tremble in sympathy as it trembles. . . . But all is continuous; and the words 'from generation to generation' understandable there."[55] Acknowledging the fact of generational change, Stillman does not efface signs of post-Classical



Figure 4. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *View of the Acropolis from the Musaeum Hill*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 1. Carbon print, 18.6 × 23.5 cm (7 5/16 × 9 1/4 in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.2.



Figure 5. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *The Acropolis with the Theatre of Bacchus*, 1869.
From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 2. Carbon print, 19.1 × 23.7 cm (7½ × 9$\frac{5}{16}$ in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.3.

development around the Acropolis. His caption for Plate 3 reads, "View of the Acropolis from the north, with the Turkish town at the foot of the hill." The information seems completely uninflected, yet for the nineteenth-century viewer the presence of the Turkish settlement could only recall the Greeks' successful struggle for independence. In his popular nineteenth-century guidebook, *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical*, Christopher Wordsworth makes the connection explicit. He describes the actions of Thrasyboulos, who led a small band of democratic partisans in their ultimately successful struggle against the oligarchs, the so-called Thirty Tyrants, whom the Spartans had installed as rulers of Athens in 403 B.C. Wordsworth imagines Thrasyboulos and his troops gazing on the Athenian landscape from the fortress called Phyle, about ten miles away: "[From there] the eye enjoys a magnificent prospect of the plain and Citadel of Athens . . . objects which doubtless inspired Thrasyboulos and his followers with patriotism and courage, and stimulated them with an enthusiastic desire to liberate their country from the unworthy bondage in which it was enthralled."[56] Clearly, Wordsworth is drawing a parallel with the much more recent Greek War of Independence; in both struggles, and on to Wordsworth and his contemporaries, the Acropolis was simultaneously a solid physical plateau and a metaphorical embodiment of liberty.

One might expect that the next view would be taken from either the east or west. Instead, illustrating Stillman's dynamic conception of his work, the second plate—"The Acropolis with the Theatre of Bacchus" (fig. 5)—brings the viewer closer, into the Theater of Dionysos on the South Slope. Stillman includes a cornice of the Parthenon, barely visible above the rim of the plateau. This was the site of the dramatic competitions at which Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, and Sophokles presented their plays. The juxtaposition of theater and temple generates a subtle allusion to the link between ancient democracy and the artistic achievement, both architectural and literary, to which it gave rise. The fragmentary statue in the right foreground lends a note of poignant humor. Stillman has placed it there to substitute for a living model, to serve as a figure in the landscape, but it has a truncated column instead of a head. The ancient site is now occupied not by the crowds of Athenian citizens who came to participate in the great festivals in honor of Dionysos but by their spirits, embodied in a battered statue and in the small figurative plaque placed at its foot. (A similar plaque appears later, in Plate 17; see fig. 15.) Given Stillman's lively belief in spiritism, it is not unlikely that he saw, and wished to present, the outdoor theater as inhabited by the phantom presence of the ancient Athenians.

During a clandestine visit to the Parthenon on a moonlit night, Mark Twain, too, indulged the same dream, with much less than his customary irony: "The place seemed alive with ghosts. I half expected to see the Athenian heroes of twenty centuries ago glide out of the shadows and steal into the old temple they knew so well and regarded with such boundless pride."[57] At the same time, however, when Stillman shows the homely shed in the orchestra and the dirt dumped below the parapet by the Athens Archaeological Society—both of which are present in other photographs from the same period—he is providing signs of modern life, the ongoing archaeological campaigns on and around the Acropolis.[58]

Also included in the opening set of photographs are reminders that the rural area surrounding the city retains its singular importance for the life of the community. In ancient Athens, the polis comprised both urban center and agricultural hinterland, and so for Stillman, "The Acropolis from the hill above the Ilissus, looking north-west" (Plate 4; fig. 6) has as its principal pictorial element a windmill, to remind the viewer that the city still depended on the countryside for its sustenance.[59] Like the workmen's shed in the Theater of Dionysos, the juxtaposition of a humble modern structure with a site of ancient greatness exemplifies the picturesque quality to which Stillman alludes in the album's title. There is no trace of condescension here. This is not an image that rehearses the tired lament about the decline from ancient grandeur to modern squalor. Instead, Stillman makes the point that both Acropolis and windmill are constitutive elements of Greek reality, and he presents them as equivalent in terms of size and placement within the frame. The natural landscape likewise receives careful attention. Once again, in accordance with Ruskinian tenets, the

rock formation in the near lower right-hand corner is rendered in sharp focus, and Stillman has cropped the image so that the outline of the rock resembles the silhouette of the distant Acropolis. Close inspection also reveals that he has signed the image as a painter would, incising his name in the negative in the puddle that fills part of the hollow of the rock.[60]

Another significant influence on all the distant views, including the last in this series, Plate 5 ("View taken from the tower of the Cathedral, looking south-west" [fig. 7]), is the enduring perception that the light of Athens has a special vividness and clarity. The authors of many travel narratives comment on the unusual, slightly disorienting effect of Athenian sunshine. The theme is addressed, for example, both by a professional writer, such as Mark Twain in his famous *Innocents Abroad* (1869), and by an ordinary British traveler, J. F. Young, in his deservedly obscure *Five Weeks in Greece* (1876). As Twain and his fellow passengers on *The Quaker City* enter the harbor of Piraeus, they gaze toward the city. "So exquisitely clear and pure is this wonderful atmosphere that every column of [the Parthenon] was discernible through the telescope, and even the smaller ruins around it assumed some semblance of shape."[61] For his part, Young notes "the deceptiveness of the Greek atmosphere. Distances seem nothing, and the eye stretches over plains and mountains which look so near and yet are so far."[62] Such observations are wholly conventional, indeed almost ritualized, but they and their many near relations carry a more complex cultural message. The illusionistic power attributed to Athenian light, its compression of distance and creation of an apparent proximity, is a direct corollary to the foreigners' broader construction of ancient Greece as familiar, accessible, and desirable. In the long views that open the album, Stillman makes full use of the "wonderful atmosphere" to establish the continuing primacy of the Acropolis within the evolving Athenian landscape.[63]

The next three pictures replicate the traveler's approach to the summit of the Acropolis. Before the citizens of the ancient city could enter the sacred precinct, they had to pass through the elaborate gateway, the Propylaia, which marked the boundary between the secular world and the area dedicated to Athena and the other tutelary divinities. As one modern scholar puts it, "The Propylaia was designed as a splendid prelude to the Parthenon."[64] In Stillman's view (Plate 6; fig. 8), the Propylaia is a study in monumental ruin. (For more on this photograph, see pp. 131, 133.) The Irish Classical scholar J. P. Mahaffy, in his *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (1876), voices the reaction of many first-time visitors in the nineteenth century to the Acropolis:

> *[W]e look for some enduring monument whereupon we can fasten our thoughts, and from which we can pass as from a visible starting-point into all this history and all this greatness. And at first we look in vain. The shattered pillars and the torn pediments will not bear so great a strain; and the traveller feels forced to admit a sense of disappointment, sore against his will.*[65]

For Mahaffy and his fellow travelers the letdown was temporary, alleviated by repeated visits, but the initial impression, more often than not, was of a disorderly jumble of architectural elements. Not only does Stillman's photograph convey the devastation; it could also almost be an illustration of the elements that, as we have seen, Ruskin assigned to the picturesque, "angular and broken lines, vigorous oppositions of light and shadow." In addition, "the picturesque" often contains a note of pathos. Stillman's view of the Propylaia offers a poignant detail in the form of a narrow footpath threading its way up the incline. Its irregular progress through the scattered architectural remnants is an organic counterpart to the precise design of the remaining stairway, while it also provides evidence for the ongoing visits by pilgrims to the site.



Figure 6. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *The Acropolis from the hill above the Ilissus, looking north-west*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 4. Carbon print, 17.6 × 23 cm (6¹³⁄₁₆ × 9⁵⁄₁₆ in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.5.







Figure 7. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *View taken from the tower of the Cathedral, looking south-west*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 5. Carbon print, 17.8 × 23.7 cm (7 × 9$\frac{5}{16}$ in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.6.



Figure 8. WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN (American, 1828–1901), *The western façade of the Propylaia, with the Temple of Victory and the ancient steps*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 6. Carbon print, 18.4 × 24.3 cm (7¼ × 9%16 in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.7.



Figure 9.
William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Eastern façade of the Temple of Victory*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 7. Carbon print, 23.7 × 18.4 cm (9 5/16 × 7 1/4 in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.8.

The frontal study of the Temple of Athena Nike—Plate 7, "Eastern façade of the Temple of Victory" (fig. 9)—is formally more conventional than the other pictures so far, but it has two elements that are particularly noteworthy. The first is that it shows the temple serving as a repository for sculpture. In the mid-1870s, a few years after Stillman made these photographs, a major campaign of excavation on the Acropolis and its environs began under the sponsorship of the Athens Archaeological Society. The finds were stored in the open air and inside some of the temples. The Parthenon, too, was being used to store artistic fragments that archaeologists had uncovered.[66] Stillman has already employed sculpture in his photograph of the Theater of Dionysos (see fig. 5). The ancient artwork does not have the same prominence here, but if one looks closely at the back wall, one can see leaning against it a relief sculpture of a Nike that Stillman will use, in close-up, for the penultimate image of the folio (Plate 24; see fig. 18). Also important is the man standing to the left of the temple. He is the first living human presence in the album, seen from the back and clad in the traditional kiltlike Greek fustanella. Once again Stillman is breaking with the practice of his contemporaries, who only rarely included identifiably modern Greeks in their photographs. Like the sculpture of Nike, similar figures will reappear in subsequent pictures (Plates 11, 21; see figs. 12, 17) and become increasingly substantial. Such understated but clearly intentional repetition gives the entire album the quality of a connected narrative rather than a collection of brilliant individual moments.

The centerpiece of Stillman's *Acropolis*, as of the Acropolis itself, is the Parthenon, which has long been the symbol of the Athenian Golden Age and indeed of Classical Greek civilization. It has also been the main destination of most visitors to Athens. Including one of the two close studies of sculpture, Stillman devotes almost half the album to the great Temple of Athena. By far the most popular view of the Parthenon was of the west end. It was the first side visitors saw once they had cleared the Propylaia. More important, it was relatively the best preserved, retaining more of its triangular pediment, and thus of its ancient silhouette, than the east end, which had been the actual entrance. Most photographs of the west end were (and are) made from an oblique angle, so as to include the north colonnade.[67] Stillman's picture, by contrast, is fully head-on, in keeping with his statement in the preface that he had attempted to photograph the facades from a point equidistant from the extremities (Plate 9; fig. 10). He breaks with tradition as well in making the picture from much farther away than was customary and, most notably, by incorporating into it (on the right) a rough retaining wall that the archaeologists had constructed. In formal terms, Stillman consistently shows a fondness for a strong diagonal line that leads the viewer's eye from the near foreground into the distance.[68] Evidently he could have stood somewhat nearer the building and thereby isolated it from its surroundings, but here, as in views throughout the folio, he prefers to locate his ancient subjects in the living world of geography, history, and change.

With the next image, "Western portico of the Parthenon" (Plate 10; fig. 11), Stillman's combined political and aesthetic agenda comes fully to the fore. The extraordinary pictorial structure, so different from conventional views of the temple, would be enough to distinguish this image from any others being made at the time. He here deploys the "vigorous oppositions of light and shadow," which together comprise one of the hallmarks of the Ruskinian picturesque, along with deep perspective, to create a novel composition. The bright light, moreover, enables the viewer to discern many features of the Athenians' construction techniques: the carving and placement of the column drums, the stone subflooring and marble cladding of the stylobate, and the lintels above. Stillman's caption adds, "The names scratched on the columns are those of Philhellenes, who fought here in the war of Greek independence." Most prominent is the capitalized name of one Blondel, likely a Frenchman, who proudly designated himself "PHIL^{h}[ellene] 1826."

Converging in this single image are a number of Stillman's most salient concerns. To begin, his prior support of various independence movements, most recently on Crete, here finds an ideal symbolic expression. The Greek War of Independence from Ottoman rule had occupied much of the 1820s and had drawn support from all over Europe. Foreign philhellenes gathered in Athens to fight side by side with the



Figure 10. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Western façade of the Parthenon*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 9. Carbon print, 17.9 × 23 cm (7 1/16 × 9 1/16 in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.10.

Figure 11.
William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901),
Western portico of the Parthenon, 1869.
From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870),
Plate 10. Carbon print, 24.3 × 19.1 cm
(9⁹⁄₁₆ × 7½ in.).
JPGM 84.XO.766.4.11.



Greeks.[69] It was, as it still is, a regrettably common practice among foreign visitors to scratch their names on the monuments.[70] In Greece the most famous example is Lord Byron's signature, incised on one of the columns of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, which itself has become an attraction for subsequent generations of visitors. Stillman's philhellenes are much less well known than Byron (and their names have long since been erased), but their devotion to the cause of Greek freedom, like Byron's, is enough to ennoble what would otherwise be little more than puerile defacement.[71] With its new inscriptions, the Parthenon becomes a palimpsest; the structure that had its origins in the democracy of fifth-century-B.C. Athens is transformed by time into a bastion and memorial for later defenders of Greek liberty. Stillman underscores what he sees as the ideological significance of this link with the radical framing, lighting, and composition he employs in the photograph. Medium and message are in perfect conjunction.

The next eight images, Plates 11–18, continue Stillman's examination of the Parthenon with primary emphasis on its architectural features and refinements. It must be remembered, however, that for Stillman the architectural and the picturesque are complementary, not contradictory. His freedom from the restraints of photographic tradition can be as striking as the view down the west portico or as subdued as "Interior of the Parthenon, taken from the western gate" (Plate 11; fig. 12). In the catalogue of standard tourist views, one finds very few taken inside the Parthenon. The reason is that the foreign travelers, who were the notional audience for most commercial photographs, generally had little interest in the temple's original condition and function. Stillman's view across the cella looking east is austere, most of it in deep shadow. His chief purpose seems to be to show the vestiges of ancient usage, for as the caption points out, "The circular grooves are those in which the bronze valves swung." The remnants of the famous frieze of the Parthenon stand discreetly arrayed along the modern brick wall on the left side of the image. In this regard, the picture both refers back to the one of the Temple of Athena Nike (Plate 7; see fig. 9) and anticipates the studies of the frieze, Plates 12 [see fig. 13] and 25 [see fig. 19]). Another connection to Plate 7 is that Stillman again includes a man in Greek costume, like the one standing next to the Temple of Athena Nike.[72] (Their clothing is identical, and this may well be the same person.) Also like the earlier figure, and like the sculptural fragments, this man is not conspicuous—Stillman has positioned him in deep shadow—but he is linked by proximity in sequence to the philhellenes extolled in Plate 10.

We must not assume that Stillman felt any sentimental admiration for the modern Greeks. In fact, his attitude is variable, sometimes encomiastic but often caustic: "I entertain no delusion on the Greek race, or honor dead virtues in the living breed. I do not idealize it a bit. I know the common people to be in general disposed to lying and stealing in a small way, and some of them in a large way."[73] One can hear in some of his remarks the prejudices typical of his time: "I do not myself like the national characteristics, and in general I may say that I don't like Greeks (in *general*, I don't like Americans or mankind)—I don't like negroes, but don't see what my antipathies have to do with their inalienable rights or my duties toward them."[74] A comparable moral notion of others' rights and his own duties informs Stillman's attitude toward the Greeks, and what remains consistent is his conviction that the modern Greeks had a right to own their cultural heritage.

The Parthenon literally and figuratively occupied the pinnacle of the Greeks' cultural heritage. To illustrate the remarkable artistry that the building embodies, Stillman moved away from the predictable points of view. For Plate 12 ("Western portico of the Parthenon, from above, showing the frieze in its original position, the only portion which remains so" [fig. 13]) and Plate 13 ("View taken from the same point as No. 12, and looking eastward over the ruins of the Parthenon"), he climbed to the top of the temple, carrying with him his bulky camera and its heavy glass-plate negatives. Both images contribute to the folio's ongoing themes. The former directly refers to other images that include the sculptural program and, more broadly, to the archaeological significance of the slabs that were still in situ. The caption for the second picture reads, "Modern Athens is seen at the left, and above it, in the center, Lycabetus [*sic*]; at the right Hymettus, and in the extreme distance Pentelicus." This plate thereby recalls the social and natural topography of Attica (as in the opening series



Figure 12. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Interior of the Parthenon, taken from the western gate*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 11. Carbon print, 17.9 × 23 cm (7¹⁄₁₆ × 9⅛ in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.12.



Figure 13. WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN (American, 1828–1901), *Western portico of the Parthenon, from above, showing the frieze in its original position, the only portion which remains so*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 12. Carbon print, 18.9 × 23.3 cm ($7\frac{7}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.13.

of photographs) and in particular, with Mount Pentelikon, the source of the glowing marble from which the Parthenon was built. Stillman here adapts the "view from above," a favorite trope in travel narrative and in travel photography, to make two linked pictures that respectively evoke the Athenians' peerless artistic achievement and designate the material source for its accomplishment.[75] Like almost all his other photographs, these have no parallel in the repertoire of commercially available tourist views. They are directed instead toward an audience of connoisseurs able to appreciate the allusions they contain.

The second of the elevated views, as mentioned, directs the viewer's attention to the eastern end of the Parthenon, and it is this section of the temple to which Stillman devotes the last four studies of the edifice. After another general inside view (Plate 14, "Interior of the Parthenon from the eastern end," which echoes Plate 11 [see fig. 12], the symmetrical view from the western gate), another dramatic vertical image appears: "Eastern portico of the Parthenon, view looking northward and showing Mount Parnes in the extreme distance" (Plate 15; fig. 14). Mount Parnes has strong associations with Greek liberty as the site of the fortress called Phyle—which Christopher Wordsworth mentioned—where Thrasyboulos and his followers made their stand against the Thirty Tyrants in 403 B.C. Yet in the photograph, Mount Parnes is barely visible; more conspicuous is the figure standing at the far end of the portico with his back to the camera. Unlike the other people depicted in the folio, this man wears identifiably western dress. Even though diminutive in comparison to the columns around him, he is situated at the convergence of the lines of perspective and therefore occupies the visual center of the image. If, as seems likely, this is Stillman himself, he is using his own presence to associate himself both with the modern Greeks (who appear in Plates 7, 11, and 21; figs. 9, 12, and 17) and with the prior generation of philhellenes who had left their marks on the Parthenon.[76] In addition, his position, seemingly beneath a precariously balanced column drum, is an affecting metaphor for the distress he had to endure at that time. As I have noted, Stillman esteemed in art a synthesis of exact description with personal interpretation, and in his view of the Parthenon's eastern portico he calls attention directly to his role as artist and interpreter.[77]

After this relatively intimate picture comes a frontal, symmetrical study of the eastern facade (Plate 16, "Eastern façade, or front, of the Parthenon"); like the picture of the western face that opens the Parthenon series (Plate 9; see fig. 10), this image exemplifies the standards of architectural precision Stillman articulates in his preface. One might expect this picture to end the series, but the photographer is not so predictable. Just as he raised his camera to the top of the structure, he now brings it down almost to ground level for Plate 17, "Profile of the eastern façade, showing the curvature of the stylobate" (fig. 15). His long-standing interest in the details of classical archaeology here comes to the fore. The caption is the most extensive in the entire album:

> *This system of curvatures of the Greek temples (which will also be seen in No. 12 [see fig. 13]), with regard to which so much discussion has taken place, seems, taken in connection with the diminution of the extreme intercolumniations of the façade (seen in No. 16) to indicate, as its purpose, the exaggeration of the perspective and, consequently, of the apparent size of the building. It is common to the Greek temples of the best epoch.*

It has become almost trite to assert that the Parthenon has no straight lines but displays instead a remarkably sophisticated combination of curves, rises, and almost imperceptible swellings (as in the entasis, the slight convexity of the columns).[78] In Stillman's time, however, the discovery of such "refinements" was still relatively recent. The scholar who had verified their existence was Francis Penrose; he drew together his analyses in *The Principles of Athenian Architecture* (1851).[79] In addition to its unusual length and detail, Stillman's caption is noteworthy for its use of technical language; likewise, his reference to "so much" contemporary scholarly discussion is clearly meant to establish his own erudition and, by implication, that of his audience. Richard Tomlinson observes that "here [Stillman] is demonstrating the value of photography, for



Figure 14.
William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901),
Eastern portico of the Parthenon, view looking northward and showing Mount Parnes in the extreme distance, 1869.
From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 15. Carbon print, 24.1 × 18.4 cm ($9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in.).
JPGM 84.XO.766.4.16.



Figure 15. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Profile of the eastern façade* [of the Parthenon], *showing the curvature of the stylobate*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 17. Carbon print, 18.4 × 23.8 cm (7¼ × 9⅜ in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.18.

though Penrose makes clear in his architectural drawings what the refinements are, they are much more successfully revealed by the camera."[80] The angle of the shot, reinforced by Stillman's didactic caption, focuses the viewer's attention on the building's construction and engineering. Nonetheless, the rest of the picture is considerably less technical in intention and effect. In designing it, Stillman abandoned traditional notions of balanced composition. Much of the image is empty sky, with a wedge of mountainous landscape in the far distance, so that the frame is almost completely weighted to the right, where the temple stands.

Stillman also placed, or one might say posed, a small votive relief on the middle step, facing the viewer. Like the decapitated statue in the Theater of Dionysos in Plate 2 (see fig. 5), the sculpture functions as the figure in the landscape, here recalling the religious practices of antiquity. A miniature variant of the grand frieze that once adorned the temple, it is connected both to the earlier pictures that include the frieze (Plates 11 and 12; see figs. 12 and 13) and to the close-up of one slab (Plate 25; see fig. 19) that concludes the album. The plaque, moreover, provides additional visual support for the caption's reference to "Greek temples of the best epoch." Stillman's assessment of artistic excellence was widely shared. So, for example, one of the most popular English guidebooks declares in its chapter on the Parthenon, "The traveler should not fail to look for a peculiar refinement recently discovered in the construction of the Greek temples of the best period . . . namely a systematic deviation from ordinary rectilinear construction."[81] As sophisticated and unconventional as he was in his photography, Stillman firmly embraced the belief held by most of his contemporaries that Greek civilization reached its apex in fifth-century-B.C. Athens. The earlier Bronze Age, the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, and virtually everything on through the War of Independence and beyond—these millennia of history could be dismissed as altogether culturally inferior to the Periclean age. Otherwise, Stillman's reference to "the best epoch" would have no meaning.

The last image of the ten devoted to the Parthenon takes the form of a compelling panorama: "General view of the summit of the Acropolis, from the extreme eastern point, showing the Erechtheum [Erechtheion] at the right, and in the distance, at the left, the Egean [*sic*]. The Parthenon occupies the centre" (Plate 18; fig. 16). A curiosity of much nineteenth-century landscape photography is that the skies are generally mottled or blank; the reason is that the glass-plate negatives were not panchromatic and so could not simultaneously record sky and land with equal detail.[82] To resolve this dilemma, photographers could either paint on the negative or, more effectively, create a second negative of the sky and make what was called a combination print.[83] Writing in the *Nation* two years after *The Acropolis of Athens* was published, Stillman praised the "combination landscapes" of two British photographers, Henry Peach Robinson and N. K. Cherrill,[84] as being

> *in good taste and exquisite manipulation, in the happy rendering of skies . . . all that one can conceive of a photographic record of the flitting, evanescent, never-to-be-repeated and unpainted cloud scenery. They are surprisingly perfect, and the ensemble of landscape and sky, though printed from different negatives, taken at different times and places, is so complete that no-one but a practised painter could, in certain cases, detect the duality of the impression.*[85]

In this instance Stillman's admiration stems from his own mastery of the technique, and it is not difficult to hear an autobiographical note in his comment about the expertise of a "practised painter." I have noted his claim in the preface to the album that, for the sake of accuracy, he retouched very few of the negatives. Plate 18 is one of them. Shifting the mode wholly to the picturesque, Stillman makes brilliant use of combination printing to surround the temple with a turbulent mass of clouds, which grow progressively brighter as they near the building. As a result, the Parthenon stands within a kind of halo and indeed seems to be the source of the light that glows around it.[86] This plate marks a transition: it serves as a finale to the Parthenon series—celebrating the centrality and enduring power of the temple—and it also introduces the last major monument on the Acropolis, the Erechtheion.

The Erechtheion was built somewhat later than the Parthenon, in the final two decades of the fifth century B.C. (ca. 423–407). It was a complicated structure, occupying multiple levels, and it housed shrines to several mythical heroes and divinities. In contrast to the Doric austerity of the Parthenon, its style was more flamboyant, with elaborate architectural decoration and detail.[87] Once more Stillman has ordered his photographs of the monument in a sequence, now beginning with a long view, across a field littered with architectural remnants, of "The eastern façade of the Erechtheum" (Plate 19). Here, too, the sky has been enhanced with the addition of some clouds, and the tall, slender columns appear almost in silhouette. They offer a sharp contrast to the squat mass of the so-called Frankish Tower, which had been installed at the southwest corner of the Propylaia in the late fourteenth century, when the Florentines ruled Athens. The next two views close in on one of the Erechtheion's best-preserved sections, the Pandrosion. A middle-distance view of "The Portico of the Pandrosium from the north" (Plate 20) must have been made in the late afternoon, for the light is coming from the sun low on the horizon. Beautifully composed, the image uses fallen stone blocks lying on the ground to provide the well-defined diagonal element that Stillman so often favors.

In the caption for the next picture, "Gate of the Pandrosium, showing details of the ornament" (Plate 21; fig. 17), Stillman calls attention to the intricate carving around the entryway, which is thrown into high relief by the oblique light. The presence of the Greek man provides scale, showing the entryway's imposing height, and it also carries a more complex ideological charge. When tourist views depict "natives" in local costume, their function is broadly ethnographic. That is, the figures add a suggestion of the exotic and confirm the difference between the foreign site and the viewer's home. Less benignly, such images can serve to support stereotypes or outright prejudice; some nineteenth-century photographic genre scenes from Italy, for example, show people engaged in supposedly typical Italian activities, such as begging, picking pockets, and eating spaghetti with their hands.[88] Photographs made in Greece do not descend to such grotesque caricature, yet it is the case, as I have noted, that photographers exclude modern Greeks from most views of the ancient monuments.[89] Stillman's approach is quite different. The Greek figures in preceding images are visible, even though off to the side (Plate 7; see fig. 9) or in shadow (Plate 11; see fig. 12); by contrast, their counterpart here stands proudly astride the top step in the center of the frame. His prominent location and assertive posture emphatically convey Stillman's commitment to Greek political autonomy. This individual, and by implication his fellow citizens, should be considered capable of inheriting and perpetuating the noble legacy of Classical Athens.

The last two photographs in the Erechtheion series are superbly executed but rather conventional. Plate 22, "Western flank of the Erechtheum," is the companion piece to Plate 19, taken from the exact opposite side. Showing the Erechtheion rising out of a field covered with rubble and wildflowers, it evokes the temple's complicated structure and multiplicity of functions.[90] Concluding the set is a near view, Plate 23, showing the "Tribune [porch] of the Caryatids (supposed to be the monument of Cecrops)." The parenthetical reference to Kekrops is another small display of Stillman's erudition, for scholars had concluded that one corner of the porch covered the tomb of that mythical founder and first king of Athens.[91] With its colonnade of female statues, this was, and is, by far the most famous section of the Erechtheion. A mid-nineteenth-century German travel writer named Hermann Hettner voiced a typical reaction, calling the Caryatids "inimitably beautiful statues of Attic maidens" and adding, "How finely the artist has here blended the plastic and the architectural!"[92] Like the west facade, it was very popular among photographers.[93] The picture is also a transitional image, for while it is the last architectural study in the album, it leads into the final two plates, which are both close-ups of sculpture.

The visual arc of the album, then, moves from long view, to intermediate distance, and finally to minute detail, thereby replicating the process by which a scholar becomes familiar with a subject, or a traveler with a place. Plate 24 is entitled "Figure of Victory, from the temple of Victory; high relief" (fig. 18). To emend this identification slightly, the picture shows a panel from the sculpted parapet that once served as a protective balustrade around the small Temple of Athena Nike. The



Figure 16. WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN (American, 1828–1901), *General view of the summit of the Acropolis, from the extreme eastern point, showing the Erechtheum at the right, and in the distance, at the left, the Egean [sic]. The Parthenon occupies the centre*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 18. Carbon print, 17.6 × 24 cm (6 15/16 × 9 7/16 in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.19.

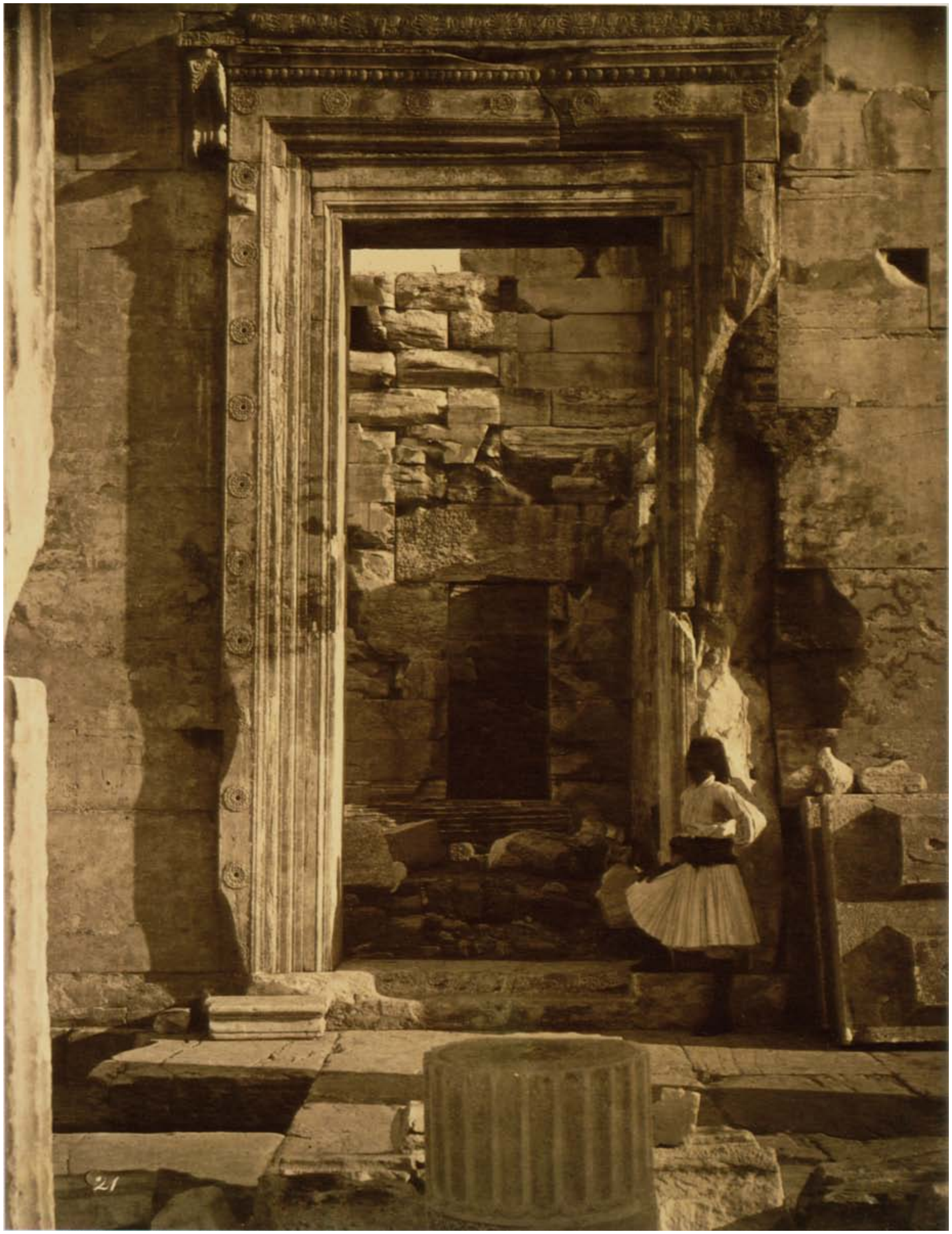


Figure 17.
William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Gate of the Pandrosium, showing details of the ornament*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 21. Carbon print, 24 × 18.6 cm (9 7/16 × 7 5/16 in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.22.



Figure 18.
William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Figure of Victory, from the Temple of Victory; high relief*, 1869. From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 24. Carbon print, 23.8 × 18.7 cm (9 3/8 × 7 3/8 in.). JPGM 84.XO.766.4.25.

original parapet stood about three feet tall and comprised numerous slabs with many such figures, "flocks of winged Nikai," as one modern scholar writes.[94] They were attendants to Athens's divine patroness in her persona as Athena Nike, who protected her city by granting its citizens success in war.

Stillman introduced the same sculpture in Plate 7 (see fig. 9), where it appears on the left, propped against the back wall of the temple, as a small, almost subliminal, detail. By contrast, in Plate 24 he uses the relief to fill most of the frame. Archaeologists stored some of their finds within the temple, and so the slab is surrounded by fragments of sculpted torsos and crown moldings, the latter decorated with the "egg and dart" motif. The photograph resembles a collage composed of bits of Classical art and architecture. By bringing his camera so near his subject, Stillman packs the photograph with a wealth of detail. Especially striking are the modeling of Nike's body, the clinging drapery, and the figure's graceful pose. Her lost wing is still visible in outline. The image, however, is not simply art for art's sake. In its intense focus on a single statue, it embodies one of the album's most important themes and one of Stillman's urgent concerns: victory, of Greeks over their enemies and, more broadly, of liberty over oppression—all finding expression in aesthetic form.

The closing image, "Fragment of frieze from the Parthenon" (Plate 25), similarly uses photography's capacity to isolate an object and focus the viewer's attention on it (fig. 19).[95] The rough brick wall glimpsed behind the slab indicates that, like the Nike sculpture, it was being stored in the open air, in this case in the Parthenon.[96] In Stillman's time there was general agreement that the frieze represented, as Murray's guidebook notes, "the greater or quadrennial Panathenaea. This composition, although treated very poetically, is yet on the whole correctly descriptive of what actually took place."[97] The festival was celebrated annually and with special splendor every four years. All residents of Athens participated in it to honor Athena. As fine as the sculpture is, and as meticulous as Stillman's rendering is, the picture he has chosen as a conclusion to the album is quietly understated. It harks back to the series of Parthenon studies, in particular Plate 11 (see fig. 12), where one can discern a few of the slabs on the ground on the far left, and Plate 12 (see fig. 13), the "aerial view" that shows the last part of the frieze that was in its original position. In addition, the image evokes the civic unity, the sense of common purpose, and the communal piety that were extolled as the emblems of Athenian democracy. (It is only a small irony that the horsemen depicted here were doubtless members of the wealthy elite.) For Stillman this panel, along with the frieze of which it was part, was an exemplary synthesis of the political and the aesthetic, of the architectural and the picturesque.

Distribution of *The Acropolis of Athens* was restricted to a relatively small group of connoisseurs. The images were known and admired by some painters, notably Lawrence Alma-Tadema, but they did not influence subsequent photographers. Nonetheless, the album is a uniquely significant achievement. Stillman brought to it his excellent education as well as what he had learned in life from the various scholars, artists, and writers he had befriended. He also had the freedom of the true amateur, in that he did not have to tailor his pictures to fit the demands of a patron. In addition, at the time *The Acropolis of Athens* was published, archaeology was coming into its own as an academic discipline, and archaeologists increasingly employed photography as a means of technical documentation.[98] Within the realm of antiquities photography, therefore, there emerged a parting of the ways separating those who used the medium for scientific purposes, for individual artistic expression, and for mass-produced commercial views.[99] Stillman's great success consists in his bringing together these divergent approaches and fusing them into a coherent aesthetic entity.



Figure 19. William James Stillman (American, 1828–1901), *Fragment of frieze from the Parthenon*, 1869.
From *The Acropolis of Athens* (1870), Plate 25. Carbon print, 18.9 × 24 cm ($7\frac{7}{16}$ × $9\frac{7}{16}$ in.).
JPGM 84.XO.766.4.26.

Epilogue

PUBLISHED IN 1870, *The Acropolis of Athens* sold well enough, presumably to a coterie of affluent subscribers, to reap Stillman a profit of some $1,000—about equal to a year's consular salary. While he was in London to oversee its production, and to get medical care for his son, Russie, he was befriended by the Greek consul general, Michael Spartali. Spartali had a beautiful daughter, Marie, herself a painter who had modeled for the Pre-Raphaelite artists Edward Burne-Jones and Dante Gabriel Rossetti as well as for the photographer Julia Margaret Cameron.[100] Stillman dedicated *The Acropolis of Athens* "To / Miss Marie Spartali / worthy scion of / the race which has given us the world's consummate art / this book is dedicated / in token of sincere admiration and respect. / W. J. S. / 1870." The following year, in the face of opposition from her father, she and Stillman became engaged and then married. They lived together in apparent harmony for another thirty years. Their life was not free from tragedy, in particular the death of Russie in 1875.[101] Nonetheless, they seem generally to have been happy, becoming the parents of three more children. Stillman supported his family as a full-time journalist, reporting, among other places, from the Balkans during the anti-Turkish war in Herzegovina in the late 1870s.

Stillman also became increasingly involved in the world of Classical archaeology. The public had been electrified by the discoveries of Heinrich Schliemann, first in the early 1870s at Hissarlik in northwest Turkey, which he identified as the site of Troy, and then in 1876 at Mycenae in the Peloponnese.[102] From the outset Stillman joined the opposition, finding fault with Schliemann's methods, conclusions, and personal integrity. He launched scholarly salvos at lectures and in the press, as in one of the many letters he wrote to the *Nation*: "[A]ll archaeologists at Athens know that Schliemann's education and judgment in archaeological matters are absolutely *nul*. . . . He has perpetrated more blunders in purely archaeological matters than are permitted to a tyro."[103] Stillman formulated his own theories, often eccentric. In 1888 he published a small book, *On the Track of Ulysses*, part of which is a record of a two-month sailing voyage around the Mediterranean.[104] It emphasizes the reality of locations such as the island of Ithaca and even Scylla and Charybdis, identified as the Straits of Messina. In the other major essay of the volume, Stillman argues that "the so-called Venus of Melos"—better known as the Venus de Milo—is actually the statue of Wingless Victory that once stood in the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis. Despite a number of such extravagantly wrongheaded interpretations, it is clear that he had earned acceptance as a serious participant in the international scholarly community.[105]

In his personal life, the tensions with the Spartali family diminished over time, and Mr. Spartali regularly provided financial assistance to Marie and her husband. Stillman, as noted, made his living from writing, and providentially (as he would have said), when his father-in-law fell into financial difficulties in 1888, Stillman was named Rome correspondent for the *Times*. The family lived there for another decade until he retired, and then they moved to Surrey, England. There he died in 1901, shortly after *Autobiography of a Journalist* was published.

Notwithstanding all his other activities, Stillman had managed to complete two additional photographic projects. In 1874 he published *Poetic Localities of Cambridge*, illustrated with twelve of his own photographs, accompanied by texts written by his old friends Holmes, Longfellow, and Lowell. The photographs recall both the nature studies Stillman had made in the Adirondacks and the *sujets intimes* of Théodore Rousseau that he had admired in Paris almost twenty-five years earlier.[106] Then, in 1882, he returned to Athens and undertook what has since come to be called "rephotography." He went back to all the sites he had photographed for *The Acropolis of Athens* and tried to reproduce the earlier views as closely as possible (figs. 20, 21). Such repetition was common practice for some commercial photographers, like Félix Bonfils, because it enabled them to offer their clients new, and presumably

Figure 20.
WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN (American, 1828–1901), Western portico of the Parthenon, 1882. Albumen silver print, 19.7 × 16.5 cm (7¾ × 6½ in.). Courtesy of the W. J. Stillman Collection, Schaffer Library, Union College, Schenectady, New York.





Figure 21.
WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN (American, 1828–1901), Profile of the northern facade of the Parthenon, showing the curvature of the stylobate, 1882. Albumen silver print, 15.9 × 18.4 cm (6¼ × 7¼ in.). Courtesy of the W. J. Stillman Collection, Schaffer Library, Union College, Schenectady, New York.

improved, versions of earlier images.[107] Stillman—who does not mention this project in his autobiography—had motives that are less clear. The reason may have been in part financial, for the new negatives were used to make prints that were sold by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London. This is pure conjecture, of course, yet his intention was probably much deeper.[108] One can understand that he would want to replicate the earlier images, which had gotten a warm reception on their publication, but now without the personal burdens under which he had labored in 1869. Given Stillman's general accuracy in assessing his own career, he may also have recognized that his photographs of the Acropolis were his most accomplished and important work.

In 1885 the renowned classical archaeologist and art historian Adolf Michaelis wrote to Stillman, thanking him for a letter "and for the series of excellent photographs" he had recently sent. "Your method must be a good one," Michaelis added, "the photographs having lost nothing of their charm by the mathematical precision you have given to them, on the contrary the whole effect being highly satisfying."[109]





Rome and Pompeii

Robert Macpherson was the most distinguished of the several photographers making studies of ancient monuments in Rome in the 1850s. A Scot, trained first as a surgeon, then as a painter, he settled in the city in 1840 and took up photography in 1851. In his superbly textured and deeply shadowed view of the Theater of Marcellus, which was begun by Julius Caesar and finished by Augustus, the original articulation of the curving facade had almost been erased by later encroachments that walled in its upper arches and filled the half-buried ground-floor arcade with humble workshops. Macpherson angled his view of the triumphal arch of the emperor Septimius Severus (ruled 193–211) to show the blocky volume of the badly stained and somewhat dilapidated structure. The figure seated in the principal arch shows that the reliefs of soldiers at the base of the Corinthian columns are nearly life-size. Macpherson's photographs, proudly stamped with his name, found wide distribution through booksellers in both Britain and Italy. (Plates IX–X)

The German émigré Giorgio Sommer established a photographic studio in Naples in 1857, which flourished in the following decades. The firm's photographs of architecture, ruins, and natural wonders, as well as its small-scale reproductions of antique sculpture, were aimed at the tourist trade. To enhance their appeal, the prints were sometimes hand colored. The geographical scope of Sommer's business steadily expanded until the number of different images listed in its catalogues reached nineteen thousand. As the leading Neapolitan photographer of the day, Sommer's subjects logically included numerous views of nearby Pompeii, among them a study of the remains of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta, which was commissioned by a Pompeian official in A.D. 3 to honor both the goddess Fortuna and the emperor Augustus. Above the intersection, with its stepping-stones to facilitate pedestrians crossing the deeply rutted street, tourists posed for the camera on the high podium of the temple. (Plate XI)

The long-established Roman print seller and engraver Tommaso Cuccioni made large-scale photographs of the city throughout the 1850s. Besides selling the photographs in his store in the center of Rome, he sent them to exhibitions in London and Paris, where they were highly commended. His photograph of the Baths of Caracalla encompasses the bulk of the three enormous vaults of the side of the *frigidarium* that gave onto the swimming pool; in order to capture this, Cuccioni had to place his camera at an angle and some distance away. The view is forthright but somewhat stark, partly because all the ancient marble cladding had long ago been stripped from the underlying brick and stone. The gentle rhythm of the smaller-scale foreground arches moving to the right plays against that of the three larger arches receding to the left. (Plate XII)

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Plate IX.
Robert Macpherson
(Scottish, 1811–1872),
Theater of Marcellus,
Rome, 1850s.
Albumen silver print,
40.8 × 28.6 cm
(16 1/16 × 11 1/4 in.).
JPGM 84.XM.502.17.



Plate x.
Robert Macpherson
(Scottish, 1811–1872),
Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome, 1850s.
Albumen silver print,
40.3 × 30 cm
(15⅞ × 11¹³⁄₁₆ in.).
JPGM 84.XM.502.13.



Plate XI. GIORGIO SOMMER (German, 1834–1914, active Italy), The Temple of Fortuna Augusta, in Pompeii, about 1870s.
Hand-colored albumen silver print, 19.7 × 25.4 cm (7¾ × 10 in.). GRI 2003.R.14*.



Plate XII. Tommaso Cuccioni (Italian, 1790–1864), Baths of Caracalla, Rome, 1850–1859.
Albumen silver print, 33.3 × 46.5 cm (13⅛ × 185⁄16 in.). JPGM 84.XM.636.13.

Braun, Clément et Cie

Braun, Clément et Cie was founded by Adolphe Braun (1812–1877), a textile designer who utilized photographs of plants in his design process beginning about 1853. Soon thereafter he produced an album of views of his native Alsace and later, by employing other photographers, he published views of Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, and France. Through the carbon printing process the studio he opened in Paris produced durable, rich, detailed prints. Increasingly, the firm turned to making large-scale photographic reproductions of works of art drawn from European museum collections.

The company's large inventory of images of drawings, paintings, and sculpture, as well as its views of European cities and classical sites were widely distributed. Thanks to their scale, clarity, and choice of subjects, the images enjoyed considerable commercial success, with frequent sales to educational institutions and museums as well as to the public. As the firm expanded, it commissioned stereoscopic views of tourist destinations and added new, even larger-scale views.

From close to the base of the Capitoline Hill, the Braun view of the Roman Forum stretches down its length to the Arch of Titus in the hazy distance. Looming on the central skyline behind Baroque and Romanesque churches are the hulking remains of the Baths of Trajan and the Colosseum. The emphatic verticals of the columns of the Temple of Saturn play against the horizontal lines created by the long avenue of trees stretching eastward, planted in 1855 after partial excavation of this area of the Forum. From exactly this vantage point other photographers of the period made very similar views, but of lesser quality. (Plate XIII)

The Braun photograph of the view from the north of the Archaic Temple of Apollo at Corinth—one of the oldest examples of the Doric order—shows the remaining seven (of an original thirty-eight) columns. Unusually, the columns were monoliths, each carved from a single block of stone. By closely framing the columns so that they fill the width of the image, the photographer made the temple appear more intact and solid than if it had been viewed from an angle or from a greater distance. Characteristically for a Braun photograph, a figure was included in order to give an idea of the scale of the building. (Plate XIV)

A similar scale figure, a short-skirted guardian, leans against a pillar in the handsome, symmetrical Braun view looking outward from the Propylaia, the ceremonial gateway to the Athenian Acropolis. In the center, a sliver of the Saronic Gulf glimmers below the distant mountains. The photograph was likely taken by the same photographer who made the Corinth image. (Plate XV)

The romantic view of the pyramids of the Giza plateau is conventionally touristic in nature, as it includes pyramids, palms, and camels that are reflected in the foreground pool. Uncommonly for a Braun-sponsored work, the negative was altered in order to add the reflection of the top of the pyramid. (Plate XVI)

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Plate XIII. BRAUN, CLÉMENT ET CIE (French firm, active 1877–1928), The Forum, Rome, print 1890, from a negative of about 1870. Carbon print, 61.6 × 76.8 cm (24¼ × 30¼ in.). JPGM 87.XM.99.4.



Plate XIV. Braun, Clément et Cie (French firm, active 1877–1928), The Temple of Apollo at Corinth, print about 1890, from an earlier negative. Carbon print, 37.8 × 47 cm (14⅞ × 18½ in.). GRI 88.R.26**.



Plate xv.
Braun, Clément et Cie (French firm, active 1877–1928), The Propylaia, Athens, print 1890, from an earlier negative. Carbon print, 76.8 × 61.1 cm (30½ × 24 in.). jpgm 87.xm.99.5.



Plate XVI. BRAUN, CLÉMENT ET CIE (French firm, active 1877–1928), The Giza Plateau, Cairo, print about 1890, from an earlier negative. Carbon print, 59.7 × 78.1 cm (23½ × 30¾ in.). GRI 88.R.26**.

Notes

Introduction

1. Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt, rev. John Marincola (New York and London: Penguin, 1996), 98.
2. The Du Camp and Flaubert quotations in this essay are from Francis Steegmuller, *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensibility on Tour* (London: Bodley Head, 1972).
3. See Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Excursions along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Santa Barbara [CA] Museum of Art, 1993) on Du Camp, esp. 26–28.
4. This is literally true because Ozymandias was the Greek name for the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses II, who ruled in the thirteenth century B.C.
5. Howe (note 3), 34.
6. This is my translation of the original French, as quoted by Lindsey Stewart in *Important Daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey from the Archive of the Artist*, auction cat. (London: Christie, Manson, and Wood, 2003), 28. See also Haris Yiakoumis, *The Acropolis of Athens: Photographs, 1839–1959* (Athens: Potamos, 2000), 14. Daguerreotypes were made by first applying a thin layer of silver to the surface of a sheet of copper; it was much easier to get a clean, polished, and even coating on a relatively small surface. The silver layer was then photosensitized with iodine, and after it was exposed to light for up to twenty-five minutes, the image was developed by being held over the fumes rising from a heated dish of mercury. Notwithstanding their small size, daguerreotypes preserve an extraordinary amount of fine detail, hence Girault de Prangey's boast about the "total accuracy" of his views. For a concise description of the daguerreotype process, see Gordon Baldwin, *Looking at Photographs: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1991), 35.
7. Stewart (note 6), 28.
8. See Hans Christian Adam and Alkis Xanthakis, "Margaritis and the Mysterious Perraud," *History of Photography* 16.1 (1991): 61–69; and Alkis Xanthakis, *Philippos Margaritis: O Protos Ellenas Photographos* [The First Greek Photographer] (Athens: Photographos, 1990).
9. On the standardization of such views, see Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "'Well-Recorded Worth': Photographs of the Parthenon," in Jenifer Neils, ed., *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005).
10. As a rough but accurate gauge of the Parthenon's relative status, the catalogue of the English Photographic Company, which did business in Athens in the late nineteenth century, offered one view of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, two of the Theseion, and no fewer than eight different pictures of the Parthenon.
11. Karl Baedeker, *Greece: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig, London, and New York: Karl Baedeker, 1881), 47.
12. The tower was removed in 1875; Heinrich Schliemann, who had excavated the sites of Troy and Mycenae, provided the funds for its demolition.
13. John Papadopoulos has correctly reminded me that some photographers, such as Petros Moraites and James Robertson, "crafted the presence of people to be an integral part of many of [their] photographs" and that Moraites's photographs, in particular, "very carefully and consciously exploit humans to a highly staged degree." E-mail to author, November 1, 2004.
14. G. F. Bowen, *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (London: John Murray, 1854), 2.
15. The signature on his prints has a number of variants, such as Dimitrios Konstantinou and, testifying to his international clientele, "Constantin à Athènes."
16. See Michael Liversidge and Catherine Edwards, eds., *Imagining Rome* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1996). For travel and travel narrative generally, see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1993).
17. The most complete discussion of Macpherson's life and work is Alistair Crawford, "Robert Macpherson, 1814–1872: The Foremost Photographer of Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 67 (1999): 353–403. See also Marjorie Munsterberg, "A Biographical Sketch of Robert Macpherson," *Art Bulletin* 68.1 (1986): 142–53; and Piero Becchetti and Carlo Pietrangeli, *Un inglese fotografo a Roma: Robert Macpherson* (Rome: Quasar, 1987).
18. William Wetmore Story, quoted in Ray Mackenzie, "The Cradle and Grave of Empires: Robert Macpherson and the Photography of Nineteenth-Century Rome," *Photographic Collector* 4.2 (1983): 215.
19. Some of the broadsheets Macpherson published listing his photographs are reproduced in Becchetti and Pietrangeli (note 17), 42–52.
20. Charles Dickens, *Pictures from Italy* (1846; repr. New York: Ecco, 1988), 108.
21. George Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, 2 vols. (New York: Ticknor and Company, 1853), 1: 305. See also Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "A Perfect Ruin: Nineteenth-Century Views of the Colosseum," *Arion* ser. 3, vol. 2.1 (1992): 115–42.
22. See William Vance, *America's Rome*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 1: 43–67; and idem, "The Colosseum: American Uses of an Imperial Image," in A. Patterson, ed., *Roman Images* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1984), 105–40. In addition, I have observed that the "massive size of the Colosseum, the extravagant and often bloody spectacles it had housed, and its picturesque decay made it the perfect embodiment of the imperial city" (Szegedy-Maszak [note 21]: 122).
23. The relation between Cuccioni's *vedute* and subsequent photographs are treated in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "Rambles in Rome," in Carol Richardson and Graham Smith, eds., *Britannia, Italia, Germania: Taste and Travel in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Varie, 2001), 6–22.
24. See Piero Becchetti, *Fotografi e fotografia in Italia, 1839–1880* (Rome: Quasar, 1978), 79; and idem, *La fotografia a Roma dalle origini al 1915*, 2nd edn. (Rome: Colombo, 1997), esp. 293–94.
25. The building was probably constructed during the reign of Augustus, and its identification is so uncertain that it is now simply called "the circular temple." See Lawrence Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1992), s.v. "Forum Boarium," 162–64. I call it the Temple of Vesta here for consistency with the nineteenth-century sources. See also Andrew Szegedy-Maszak "Roman Views," in *Six Exposures: Essays in Celebration of the Opening of the Harrison D. Horblit Collection of Early Photography* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, Harvard Univ., 1999), 89–106, esp. 99–102.
26. Hillard (note 21), 1: 324.
27. Augustus J. C. Hare, *Walks in Rome*, 8th edn. (New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1882), 154.
28. Christopher Woodward, *In Ruins* (London and New York: Pantheon, 2001), 30.

The Art and Science of Antiquity in Nineteenth-Century Photography

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1. Adolf Michaelis, *Die archäologischen Entdeckungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1906), 259.
2. Yannis Hamilakis, "Monumental Visions: Bonfils, Classical Antiquity, and Nineteenth-Century Athenian Society," *History of Photography* 25.1 (2001): 5–12.
3. Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1993), 1–10.
4. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 8.
5. Josef Maria Eder, *History of Photography*, trans. Edward Epstean (New York: Dover, 1945), 234–35.
6. Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *L. J. M. Daguerre: The History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype* (New York: Dover, 1968), 81.
7. Ibid., 79–81, 84–88.
8. See Eder (note 5), 244.
9. Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Excursions along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Santa Barbara [CA] Museum of Art, 1993), 23–34. Several views by Joly de Lotbinière of the Athenian Acropolis, the Holy Land, Baalbek, and Beirut were reproduced in Noël-Marie-Paymal Lerebours, *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris: Rittner et Goupil, 1842).
10. *Nous regrettons ces vieilles murailles de notre ville natale qui disparaissent, car c'était l'histoire encore vivante de son passé qu'elles rappelaient; nous regrettons ces lierres, ces plantes sauvages qui rendaient nos ramparts qu'elles décorait si chers aux peintres . . . vains regrets!* Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, "Langres. Longe-Porte," *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* (1850), 141.
11. Anthony J. Hamber, *"A Higher Branch of the Art": Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839–1880* (Amsterdam: Gordon & Breach, 1996), 65–78. The "talbotype" is an alternative name for the calotype. On Talbot's interests in ancient philology and myth, see Mike Weaver, "Diogenes with a Camera," in Mike Weaver, ed., *Henry Fox Talbot: Selected Texts and Bibliography* (Oxford: Clio, 1992), 1–25.
12. Talbot, letter to Charles Fellows, dated Lacock Abbey, April 11, 1843, in www.foxtalbot.arts.gla.ac.uk.
13. Lawrence Desmond and Phyllis Messenger, *A Dream of Maya: Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon in Nineteenth-Century Yucatan* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1988), 4.
14. Richard Lepsius, three letters to Talbot, dated March 13, July, and July 22, 1842, in www.foxtalbot.arts.gla.ac.uk .
15. Elke Freier and Stefan Grunert, *Eine Reise durch Ägypten: Nach den Zeichnungen der Lepsius-Expedition in den Jahren 1842–1845* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984), figs. 48–50. On Bonomi, see C. D. Major, "Illustrating B.C. (Before Cameras)," *Archaeology* 24.1 (1971): 44–51.
16. Larry J. Schaaf, *Tracings of Light: Sir John Herschel and the Camera Lucida. Drawings from the Graham Nash Collection* (San Francisco: The Friends of Photography, 1989).
17. Charles Fellows, letters to Talbot, dated London, April 14, 1843, and August 1, 1843, in www.foxtalbot.arts.gla.ac.uk. See also Hamber (note 11), 368.
18. Stephen Bann, "Antiquarianism, Visuality, and the Exotic Monument: William Hodges's *A Dissertation*," in Maria Antonella Pelizzari, ed., *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 62–85; M. Kemp, "'A Perfect and Faithful Record': Mind and Body in Medical Photography before 1900," in Ann Thomas, ed., *Beauty of Another Order: Photography in Science* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997), 120–49.
19. Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (Paris: [s.n.], 1782–1822); Louis François Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phénicie, de la Palestine, et de la Basse Égypte* (Paris, 1799).
20. Aimé Laussedat is considered the first to use photographs to construct topographical maps. See Eder (note 5), 398–400.
21. Gabrielle Feyler, "Contribution à l'histoire des origins de la photographie archéologique: 1839–1880," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 99 (1987): 1019–47; Hans Christian Adam, "Photographie auf Forschungsreise," in *In unnachahmlicher Treue: Photographie im 19. Jahrhundert, ihre Geschichte in den deutschsprachigen Ländern* (Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1979), 115–28.
22. On Friedrichsthal, see Bodo von Dewitz and Reinhard Matz, eds., *Silber und Salz: Zur Frühzeit der Photographie im deutschen Sprachraum, 1839–1860* (Cologne: Braus, 1989), 48–49; on Baron de LaGrange, see Julia Ballerini, "Rites of Passage: A Frenchman's Albums of British India," in *Traces of India* (note 18), 88–104; Gilbert Gimon, "Jules Itier, Daguerreotypist," *History of Photography* 5.3 (1981): 225–44.
23. Maxime Du Camp, *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie. Dessins photographique recueillis pendant les années 1849, 1850, 1851, accompagnés d'un texte explicatif et précédés d'une introduction* (Paris: Gide et Baudry, impr. phot. Blanquart-Evrard, 1852).
24. Félix Teynard, *Égypte et Nubie, sites et monuments les plus intéressants pour l'étude de l'Art et de l'Histoire. Atlas photographique, servant de complément à la Description de l'Égypte* (Paris: Goupil & Cie, impr. phot. Fonteny, 1858). See also Kathleen Stewart Howe, "Egypt Recovered: The Photographic Surveys of Maxime Du Camp, Félix Teynard, and John Beasley Greene," Ph.D. diss., Univ. of New Mexico, 1996.
25. Nicole Chevalier and Bertrand Lavédrine, "Débuts de la photographie et fouilles en Assyrie: Les calotypes de Gabriel Tranchand," in Elisabeth Fontan and Nicole Chevalier, *De Khorsabad à Paris: La découverte des Assyriens* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), 196–213, fig. 2, 224, fig. 7A, and frontispiece.
26. See, for example, Carol Armstrong's analysis of knowledge claims put forth in early biological photography by Anna Atkins or Middle Eastern travel photographs published by Francis Frith, in *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843–1875* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998).
27. See Howe (note 24), 245.
28. Françoise Heilbrun, "Auguste Salzmann: Photographe malgré lui," in *Félix de Saulcy et la Terre Sainte* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1982), 114–32; "Controverses archéologiques: La preuve par la photographie," in André Rouillé, ed., *La Photographie en France: Textes et controverses: Une anthologie, 1816–1871* (Paris: Macula, 1989), 136–41.

29. Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists & Aesthetes: In the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800–1939* (London: British Museum, 1992), 171–95; Susan Allen, "Artifacts as Vouchers for Written History: Charles Thomas Newton's Influence on Frank Calvert," *Mitteilungen aus dem Heinrich-Schliemann-Museum Ankershagen* 7 (2001): 101–11.
30. See Luis Nadeau, *Encyclopedia of Printing, Photographic, and Photomechanical Processes: A Comprehensive Reference to Reproduction Technologies, Containing Invaluable Information on over 1500 Processes*, 2 vols. (Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada: Atelier Luis Nadeau, 1989), 2: 391; Malcolm Daniel, "The Beginnings of Photogravure in Nineteenth-Century France," in Malcolm Daniel and Florian Rodari, eds., *Graver la Lumière: L'héliogravure d'Alfred Stieglitz à nos jours, ou la reconquête d'un instrument perdu* (Vevey: Fondation William Cuendet & Atelier de Saint-Prex, 2002).
31. Georges Perrot, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie: D'une partie de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont*, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1862–1872), 1: 2–3 (author's trans.).
32. Heinrich Schliemann, letter to John Turtle Wood, dated Pergamus of Troy August 6, 1872, in John Turtle Wood Papers, 1863–1890, GRI 860962. Heinrich Schliemann, *Trojanischer Alterthümer: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1874).
33. See letters reacting to the Trojan discoveries, in www.foxtalbot.arts.gla.ac.uk, from daughters Rosamond (March 16, 1875, and December 22, 1876) and Matilde (February 26, 1877): "I am sorry about the doubts which seem to be thrown over Dr. Schliemann's wonderful discoveries—but my wonder is how & where did he find or become possessed of the immense quantity of articles he described, if he did not find them in genuine search as he professes to have done. Can they be not gold, but fabricated?—it seems impossible."
34. Alkis Xanthakis, *History of Greek Photography, 1839–1960* (Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives Society, 1988), 85. Hans Christian Adam, "Heinrich Schliemann und die Photographie," in *Das Land der Griechen mit der Seele suchen: Photographien des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Agfa Foto-Historama, 1990), 38–41.
35. A. C. Lascarides, *The Search for Troy, 1553–1874* (Bloomington: Lilly Library, Indiana Univ., 1977), 68–72. Despite questions surrounding the contextual integrity of the gold treasure, its authenticity is generally upheld: see Vladimir Tolstikov, "Heinrich Schliemann and Trojan Archaeology," in Vladimir Tolstikov and Mikhail Treister, eds., *The Gold of Troy: Searching for Homer's Fabled City*, trans. Christina Sever and Mila Bonnichsen (New York: Abrams, 1996), 15–23.
36. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympos: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1996), 96–98; Ruth Lindner, "Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz—Alexander Conze," *Fotogeschichte* 73 (1999): 3–16. On the photographer Burger, see Gert Rosenberg, *Wilhelm Burger: Ein Welt- und Forschungsreisender mit der Kamera, 1844–1920* (Vienna: Christian Brandstetter, 1984).
37. Mary Bergstein, "The Mystification of Antiquity under Pius IX: The Photography of Sculpture in Rome, 1846–1878," in Geraldine A. Johnson, ed., *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 35–50.
38. Pierre-Lin Renié, "The Battle for a Market: Art Reproductions in Print and Photography from 1850 to 1880," in Kathleen Stewart Howe, ed., *Intersections: Lithography, Photography, and the Traditions of Printmaking* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1998), 41–53.
39. Bann (note 18), 64.
40. Piero Becchetti and Carlo Pietrangeli, *Roma in dagherrotipia* (Rome: Quasar, 1979), 34–40.
41. Robert E. Lassam, *The Romantic Era. Reverendo Calvert Richard Jones, 1804–1877: Reverendo George Wilson Bridges, 1788–1863: William Robert Baker di Bayfordbury, 1810–1896: Il lavoro di tre fotografi inglesi svolto in Italia nel 1846–1860, usando il procedimento per Calotipia (Talbotipia)* (Florence: Alinari, 1988), 21.
42. Stefano Lecchi, "Fotografi di Roma 1849," GRI 2002.R.45*; Maria Pia Critelli, ed., *Stefano Lecchi: Un fotografo e la Repubblica Romana del 1849* (Rome: Retablo, 2001).
43. Giulio Minervini, "Fotografia in Pompei," *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano* 35 (1853): 81.
44. Gina Carla Ascione, "Tedeschi tra le rovine di Pompei nel secolo dei Borboni," in Baldassare Conticello, ed., *Italienische Reise: Pompejanische Bilder in den deutschen archäologischen Sammlungen* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1989), 70–71.
45. Maria Antonietta Tomei, *Scavi francesi sul Palatino* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1999), 3, 36, 44, figs. 28–32.
46. Paola Poli Capri, *Pompeii Letters and Documents, vol. 1, October 31, 1863–May 26, 1869* (Rome: P. P. Capri, 1996), 80–81. On photographs of cadaver casts, see Eugene Dwyer, "Art, Science, or Morbid Curiosity: Interpreting the Human Remains from Pompeii," in Victoria C. Gardner Coates and Jon L. Seydl, eds., *Antiquity Recovered: The Legacy of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, forthcoming).
47. Barry Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1994), 109.
48. M. Christine Boyer, "La Mission Héliographique: Architectural Photography, Collective Memory, and the Patrimony of France, 1851," in Joan M. Schwartz and James Ryan, eds., *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 21–54; Barry Bergdoll, "A Matter of Time: Architects and Photographers in Second Empire France," in Malcolm R. Daniel, *The Photographs of Édouard Baldus* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 99–119.
49. Charles Nodier, Isidore Justin Baron Taylor, and Alph. de Cailleux, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné, 1820–1878).
50. Ronald Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade: Archaeology in Rome during the Napoleonic Era* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992); Carolyn Springer, *The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism 1775–1850* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 74–90.
51. Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Pompeo Bondini: *Della Via Appia* (1853)," *History of Photography* 20.1 (1996): 12–23.
52. Anita Margiotta, "John Henry Parker e la sua campagna fotografica," in *Un Inglese a Roma, 1864–1877. La raccolta Parker nell'Archivio fotografico comunale* (Rome: Artemide, 1989), 12–17.
53. Brigitte Desrochers, "Giorgio Sommer's Photographs of Pompeii," *History of Photography* 27.2 (2003): 111–29.
54. Bergdoll (note 48), 76–79.
55. Giorgio Sommer, "Pompei," ca. 1870s, GRI 1539-078.
56. Richard Payne Knight, *Specimens of Antient Sculpture: Ægyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman* (London: T. Payne, 1809–1835).
57. Mary Beard and John Henderson, *Classical Art from Greece to Rome* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), 87–88.
58. See Talbot's discussion of this issue in connection with his photograph of the Bust of Patroclus, in *The Pencil of Nature* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844–1846), pl. 5.
59. Gordon Baldwin, Malcolm Daniel, and Sarah Greenough, *All the Mighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852–1860* (New York:

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), pl. 46. I am grateful to Gordon Baldwin for bringing to my attention this photograph and the observation that the statue is apparently in transit.

60. Robert Macpherson, *Vatican Sculptures, selected, and arranged in the order in which they are found in the galleries*... (London: Chapman and Hall, 1863).
61. Catherine Mathon and Hélène Pinet, "'Une idée, une forme, un être': Photographier l'antique au XIXᵉ siècle," in *D'Après l'antique* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000), 111–20.
62. Alain Schnapp, "Eduard Gerhard: Founder of Classical Archaeology?," in Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Michael Shanks, and Mathew Tiews, eds., "Archaeologies of the Modern," *Modernism/modernity* 11.1 (2004): 169–75.
63. Helmut Jung, "Gustav Reiger: Erster für das Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica tätiger Photograph," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1996: 321–32. Among the numerous influential examples can be counted the Alinari archive, which evolved into the Museo di Storia della Fotografia Fratelli Alinari in 1985; Aby Warburg's paradigm-shifting photographic collection at the Warburg Institute in London; and the interdisciplinary visual collections of the Getty Research Institute.
64. See Schnapp (note 62), 171.

In Perfect Order: Antiquity in the Daguerreotypes of Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey

It would not have been possible to prepare this essay without the generosity of the owners of the Girault de Prangey archive, who have granted me access to his daguerreotypes and helped with my many questions. The essay benefited tremendously from the careful and knowledgeable interventions of my coauthors, Claire Lyons, John Papadopoulos, and Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, and from J. Paul Getty Museum Department of Photographs curator Weston Naef and associate curator Gordon Baldwin. Getty Museum senior editor Benedicte Gilman made many helpful contributions while guiding me through the editorial process, as did Phil Freshman of Minneapolis, my diligent, versatile, and patient manuscript editor. Among others, Sylvie Aubenas, Ken Jacobson, Hans Kraus, Jr., Felix de Marez Oyens, John Prentice, Grant Romer, and Daniel Wolf have all, in various ways, proven to be great supporters of Girault de Prangey. Their wisdom and enthusiasm have been essential in bringing his work to the attention of a wider audience.

1. For a detailed account of this meeting, see Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *L. J. M. Daguerre: The History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1956), 96–100.
2. Count de Simony, *Une curieuse figure d'artiste Girault de Prangey, 1804–1892* (Dijon, France: J. Belvet, 1937), 1.
3. Henry Brocard, "M. Girault de Prangey," obituary, *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* 4 (1893): 15. Extensive footnotes to this obituary detail the achievements of Girault de Prangey's ancestors, from Antoine Piétrequin in the early seventeenth century to Jean-Baptiste Piétrequin, who died in 1776.
4. Count de Simony, *Une curieuse figure* (note 2), 2, refers to a letter from an "eminent personality of the Langrois district, whose great age made him almost a contemporary of M. Girault." This person describes Girault de Prangey as something of a recluse, who in his later years rarely visited Langres or saw anyone.
5. Brocard, Girault de Prangey obituary (note 3): 15.
6. For reproductions of Girault de Prangey's diplomas, which survive in a private collection, see Philippe Quettier et al., *Sur les traces de Girault de Prangey, 1804–1892* (Langres, France: Musées de Langres and Dominique Guéniot, 1998), 75.
7. For stereoscopic photographs Girault de Prangey made in the 1860s showing his villa, gardens, and plants, see ibid., 59, 62–68.
8. For a list of other articles and illustrations Girault de Prangey contributed to the society's *Mémoires* between 1847 and 1849, see ibid., 20–21.
9. Girault de Prangey completed his comprehensive work on the Arab and Moorish architecture of Granada, Cordoba, and Seville on an extended visit to Spain in 1832 and 1833. Published by Veith and Hauser of Paris between 1836 and 1839 and entitled *Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordue, Seville, et Grenade*, it included lithographs as well as text by Girault de Prangey. The largest section of this work, originally entitled *Souvenirs de Grenade et de l'Alhambra*, has been reprinted, with an introduction by John Sweetman, a full translation of the original text, and thirty leaves of plates, as *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra / Souvenirs de Grenade et de l'Alhambra* (Reading, England: Garnet, 1996).
10. Count de Simony (note 2) described "quelque 1000 daguerréotypes, de divers formats," 6. An appendix to his published account lists 856 daguerreotypes in twenty-one boxes. Another list, made by Helmut Gernsheim in the 1950s, counted closer to a thousand daguerreotypes in twenty-nine boxes. A comparison of the two lists suggests that the earlier one did not include any of the pictures Girault de Prangey made in France.
11. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Memories of Granada and the Alhambra by Girault de Prangey* (1836–1839; trans. repr. Barcelona: Escudo de Oro, 1999), 8.
12. Daguerre's success in fixing an image created in a camera obscura was first announced on January 7, 1839, by François Arago, secretary of the Académie des sciences and director of l'Observatoire de Paris. As noted at the outset of this essay, details were not revealed until August 19 of that year. See also the quotation from Arago's announcement reproduced in Claire Lyons's essay in the present book, p. 27.
13. For a reproduction of the article, attributed to the journalist H. Gaucheraud, in the January 6, 1839, edition of the *Gazette de France*, see Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *Daguerre* (note 1), 82–83.
14. Sylvain Morand, "Le daguerréotype en province, une histoire sans fin," in Quentin Bajac and Dominique Planchon-de Font-Réaulx, *Le Daguerréotype français: Un objet photographique* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2003), 105–106.
15. Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *Daguerre* (note 1), 93.
16. For a daguerreotype portrait of Ziegler by Bayard, dated 1844, and a note describing Ziegler's early interest and involvement in photography, see Bajac and Planchon-de Font-Réaulx, *Le Daguerréotype français* (note 14), 320–21.
17. For a quotation referring to these nudes from a diary entry by the painter Eugène Delacroix, dated September 17, 1850, see Dominique Planchon-de Font-Réaulx, "Nu et daguerréotype, questions de genre," in Bajac and Planchon-de Font-Réaulx, *Le Daguerréotype français* (note 14), 303.
18. Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), 84–85.
19. For examples of these early nonportrait daguerreotypes, see Bajac and Planchon-de Font-Réaulx, *Le Daguerréotype français* (note 14), 149–61.

20. For illustrations of other early Paris scenes, see Françoise Reynaud et al., *Paris et le daguerréotype* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1989).
21. Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *Daguerre* (note 1), 94–95.
22. Ibid., 110 and 205, note 127.
23. Architectural views he made on his own estate near Langres and in the cities of Chaumont, Troyes, and Paris, dated 1841, are in this format.
24. The optician Noël-Marie-Paymal Lerebours equipped several artists and travelers, including Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet, H. L. Pattison, Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, and Horace Vernet, with daguerreotype apparatus and published the resulting images as a series of engravings in *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues des monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris, 1842). The series extended to around 112 plates, each accompanied by text; this was the most extensive of several publications said to be based on daguerreotypes that emanated from Paris publishers in the 1840s. Photographers are identified as the source of relatively few of the plates, and some appear more likely than others to have been based on photographic originals, so perhaps not all the plates were based on daguerreotypes. I am grateful to Professor Roger Taylor for pointing out a note in *Athenaeum* 670 (August 28, 1840): 684, mentioning that fifty plates "are to be engraved after subjects selected from the gallery of M. Lerebours, and from the collections of drawings made in the East, by MM Horace Vernet and Goupil."
25. Quoted in Jacques-Rémi Dahan, "Deux lettres d'un voyage en Orient," in Quettier et al., *Sur les traces* (note 6), 83.
26. A few unmounted plates surviving in the photographer's archive are in formats smaller than his whole plate. These clearly show some edges cut with a rougher finish than those of the manufacturer, suggesting that he used shears or another cutting tool.
27. For a discussion of the subjects preferred by artists and photographers in Athens, see Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "Félix Bonfils in Athens," *History of Photography* 25.1 (2001): 13–45.
28. Philippos Margaritis took a very similar photograph (laterally reversed and thus correct) in the mid-1850s. The Gary Edwards Collection of nineteenth-century photographs of Greece, accessible through the Getty Research Institute web site (www.getty.edu/research/conducting_research/digitized_collections/garyedwards/), illustrates this and other later studies of the same monument.
29. For examples of each, see *Important Daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey from the Archive of the Artist*, auction cat. (London: Christie, Manson, and Woods, 2003); and *Important Daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey from the Archive of the Artist, Part II*, auction cat. (London: Christie, Manson, and Woods, 2004).
30. For a reproduction of this daguerreotype, see Alkis Xanthakis, *History of Greek Photography, 1839–1960* (Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives Society, 1988), 28.
31. For a detailed survey of works by other photographers on the Acropolis, see Haris Yiakoumis, *The Acropolis of Athens: Photographs, 1839–1959* (Athens: Potamos, 2000).
32. According to two letters reproduced in Quettier et al., *Sur les traces* (note 6), 83–89, Girault de Prangey was in Smyrna in April 1843, planning to travel through Anatolia and arrive in Constantinople in early September. By May 1844 he was in Jerusalem, having also spent three months in Upper Egypt since writing the previous letter. If his Anatolian tour proceeded as planned, he could have been in Syria from late September until January.
33. Brocard, Girault de Prangey obituary (note 3): 18.
34. Girault de Prangey (in Smyrna) to Désiré Raoul-Rochette, April 22, 1843, quoted in Quettier et al., *Sur les traces* (note 6), 84–85.
35. Brocard, Girault de Prangey obituary (note 3): 18.
36. Ibid.
37. In an April 1847 letter to a Mr. Donaldson, secretary of the Institute of British Architects, he offers "diverse works relating to Arab architecture," including *livraisons* (parts) one, two, and three of this publication, suggesting that was all that had been completed so far. Wrappers for parts one through six are bound into the volume of twenty-four lithographs with this title in the collection of the British Library, London. This conforms to the intended number of plates per issue and closely duplicates the contents of the volume (of twenty-three plates only) of the same title in the Victoria and Albert Museum National Art Library, London, which is additionally stamped "Incomplete. Publication stopped." Another volume—sold at Christie's, London, in November 2004, with the provenance of William Arthur, Sixth Duke of Portland—comprised parts one through six in one volume with twenty-four plates, corresponding with those in the British Library volume.
38. The Victoria and Albert Museum National Art Library, London, copy of *Monuments et paysages de l'Orient* includes nineteen plates, one of which is entitled "Monument Choragique, à Athènes." This group is similarly stamped "Incomplete. Publication stopped." A volume of twenty-three plates, lacking a title, in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, combines plates from both publications, including fourteen duplicates from *Monuments et paysages*. Gordon Baldwin, associate curator in the J. Paul Getty Museum Department of Photographs, has kindly advised that the Bibliothèque Marcel Arland, Langres, has a portfolio of the same title with twenty-three lithographic plates, including some duplicates colored and some not colored. Among the latter are ones with notes in Girault de Prangey's hand that suggest colors to be applied. The Choregic Monument is again included, as is the Temple of Cybele at Sardis (now called the Temple of Artemis).
39. For two examples, see *Important Daguerreotypes by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey* (note 29), 45–47, where daguerreotype views, of Fouah on the Nile and of a street in El-Rashīd, are illustrated alongside similar lithographs.
40. For a survey of other major publications based on daguerreotype originals and the full plate list for *Excursions daguerriennes*, see Janet Buerger, *French Daguerreotypes* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989), 243–50.
41. Hippolyte Fizeau made plates 19 and 24 in Lerebours, *Excursions daguerriennes*, using this technique.
42. The first fascicle of Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* was published in 1844, the last in 1846.

Antiquity Depicted

1. For patterns of memory and commemoration with regard to archaeological sites and relics, see esp. Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1994); Susan E. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscapes, Monuments and Memories* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002); and Howard Williams, ed., *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2003).
2. Trans. Sir James Frazer, in *Pausanias's Description of Greece, Vol. I* (London: Macmillan, 1898).
3. Among pre-photographic representations of Mycenae those of Sir William Gell stand out. See William Gell, *The Itinerary of Greece with a Commentary on Pausanias and Strabo and an Account of the Monuments of*

Antiquity at Present Existing in That Country in the Years 1801, 1802, 1805 and 1806 (London: T. Payne, 1810).

4. See John K. Papadopoulos, "Engaging Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives," in John K. Papadopoulos and Richard M. Leventhal, eds., *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2003), 11–12, fig. 1.8.
5. Not only has the portal been cleared of debris, but the upper-right portion of the wall immediately adjacent to the sculptured slab has been restored with at least two courses of masonry.
6. Gregory Jusdanis, "Farewell to the Classical: Excavations in Modernism," *Modernism/Modernity* 11 (2004): 37. The article is on pages 37–53.
7. Baron Paul des Granges's first known photograph is dated to 1865. He made many others in the late 1860s and early 1870s, when he traveled extensively in Greece to photograph ancient monuments. See Rotraud Harling, "Paul des Granges: Materialien zur Biographie eines vergessenen Photographen," in *Das Land der Griechen mit der Seele suchen: Photographien des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 1990), 31–37. For concise biographies of early photographers of Greece, see *Athens, 1839–1900: A Photographic Record*, second edn. (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2004).
8. See Louis E. Lord, *A History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1882–1942* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1947), 89–90.
9. Jusdanis, "Farewell to the Classical" (note 6): 37.
10. Michael S. Roth, Claire L. Lyons, and Charles Merewether, *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1997).
11. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "True Illusions: Early Photographs of Athens," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 125–38.
12. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, trans. H. Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).
13. Stuart Piggott, *Antiquity Depicted: Aspects of Archaeological Illustration* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 7.
14. Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (New York: Pantheon, 1960), 90.
15. The great Italian traveler Ciriaco d'Ancona visited Athens and the Greek mainland twice, in 1436 and 1444. See esp. Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia, eds., *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'umanismo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Ancona 6–9 febbraio 1992* (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 1998); and Edward W. Bodner with Clive Foss, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003). Although crude, Ciriaco's Parthenon rendering bears certain marks of authenticity, many of which were lost when it was copied some sixty years later by Giuliano da Sangallo; see Robin Middleton, "Introduction," in Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* (1770; repr. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), 27. The da Sangallo drawing is now in the Vatican Library (Codex Barberinus Latinus 4424, fol. 28v).
16. Middleton, "Introduction" (note 15), 25–27.
17. Among the buildings Stuart and Revett drew that no longer survive, except for their foundations, are the little temple by the Ilissos River known as Artemis Agrotera and the Choregic Monument of Thrasyllos. See James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 4 vols. (London: Haberkorn, 1762–1816). For the Temple of Artemis Agrotera, see Walther Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich: Beck, 1931), 416, 420–22. For the Thrasyllos monument, see Gabriel Welter, "Das Thrasyllosmonument," *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1937, 419–22; and idem, "Das choregische Denkmal des Thrasyllos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1938, 33–68.
18. On October 3, the Turkish forces on the Acropolis capitulated, and upon gaining possession of it, Morosini added to the damage by attempting to remove the sculptural group of the horses and chariot of Athena, which subsequently fell and was smashed. The Venetian occupation was short-lived, for in April 1688 the Turks reoccupied the citadel. For Morosini in the Peloponnese and Athens from 1685 to 1688, see Ioannis Gennadios, *Ho Morosinēs en Peloponnēsō kai en Athēnas* (Athens: S. Galēnakē, 1929).
19. Middleton, "Introduction" (note 15), 33. For an engraving dated 1687 that shows the Parthenon intact, see John K. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 308, fig. 5.19.
20. For a succinct and well-illustrated overview, with full references, of the construction and historical development of the Parthenon, see John Travlos, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 444–57. For a cultural history of the building, see Mary Beard, *The Parthenon* (London: Profile, 2002).
21. "Nous nous hâtames d'aller voir la grande Mosquée, qui étoit autrefois le Temple de Minerve, comme la plus considerable piece de la Citadelle. Sa veuë nous imprima certain respect, et nous demeurâmes long-tems à la considerer, sans lasser nos yeux." Translated in Middleton, "Introduction" (note 15) 33, from Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait és années 1675 et 1676*, 3 vols. (Lyon, France: Antoine Cellier le fils, 1678), 2: 142.
22. See Middleton, "Introduction" (note 15), 6–7.
23. For a succinct overview of Elgin in Greece, see Robin Waterfield, *Athens: A History, From Ancient Ideal to Modern City* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 291–94.
24. Like the citadel of Mycenae, the tomb has been visible since antiquity, but the identity of its occupant(s) remains unknown. The name by which it has been commonly known in modern times, the Treasury of Atreus, is based on a misunderstanding dating back to Roman times, when these tombs were thought to be the treasure chambers of powerful heroic kings; see Reynold Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art*, rev. edn. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 87. Its other modern name, the Tomb of Agamemnon, is equally without foundation. Dating to the thirteenth century B.C., the tomb was the largest spanned building before the Pantheon was built in Rome.
25. Hermann Kienast is preparing the definitive study of the Tower of Winds. See, in the meantime, Joachim von Freeden, *OIKIA KYRRHESTOY: Studien zum sogenannten Turm der Winde in Athen* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1983); and Hermann Kienast "The Tower of the Winds in Athens: Hellenistic or Roman?" in Michael Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff, eds., *The Romanization of Athens* (Exeter, England: Oxbow Books, 1997), 53–65.
26. See, among others, Lya and Raymond Matton, *Athènes et ses monuments du XVIIe siècle à nos jours* (Athens: L'Institut français d'Athènes, 1963), 306, pl. LXX and fig. 110.
27. See Evi Antonatos and Marie Mauzy, *Early Photographic Panoramas of Greece* (Athens: Potamos, 2003), 30.
28. C. William J. Eliot, "Gennadeion Notes, III: Athens in the Time of Lord Byron," *Hesperia* 37 (1968): 148–49, pls. 50 a, b.
29. For a discussion and illustration of this unique painting, see ibid.: 143, pl. 44.

30. The cultural history of the Propylaia in the post-antique period is well presented in Tassos Tanoulas, *Ta Propylaia tēs Athēnaïkēs Akropolēs kata ton Mesaiōna* (Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 1997).
31. For Athens between 1204 and 1833, see esp. John Travlos, *Poleodomikē Exelixis tōn Athēnōn* (Athens: Ekdoseis Kapon, 1960), 163–234; Ferdinand Gregorovius and Spyridon Lamprou, *Historia tēs poleōs Athēnōn* (Athens: Sakellariou, 1904–1906); Dimitrios Kampouroglou, *Mnēmeia tēs historias tōn Athēnaiōn, I–III* (Athens: Leōnē, Papageōrgiou, Sakellariou, 1890–1892); and idem, *Ai Palaiai Athēna* (Athens: Hestia, 1922).
32. This aspect is well treated in a number of studies, of which the following are among the more important: John Travlos, "Athens after the Liberation: Planning the New City and Exploring the Old," *Hesperia* 50 (1981): 391–407; Richard A. McNeal, "Archaeology and the Destruction of the Later Athenian Acropolis," *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 49–63; Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 301; Eleni Bastéa, *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000); and Effie Athanassopoulou, "An 'Ancient' Landscape: European Ideals, Archaeology, and Nation-Building in Early Modern Greece," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 20 (2002): 273–305. For a useful summary of excavations in Athens in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas, *The Ancient Heritage and the Historic Cityscape in a Modern Metropolis* (Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 1994). For a detailed overview of excavations and restorations on the Acropolis, see Fani Mallouchou-Tufano, *Hē Anastēlōsē tōn Archaiōn Mnēmeiōn stē Neōterē Hellada (1834–1939): To Ergo tēs en Athēnais Archaiologikēs Hetaireias kai tēs Archaiologikēs Hyperesias* (Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 1998).
33. For European and North American idealization of Hellas, see Eliza May Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1935); Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1996); Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980); Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes: In the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1992); Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981); John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Stephen L. Dyson, *Ancient Marbles to American Shores: Classical Archaeology in the United States* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); and William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1972).
34. The Martens engraving is published and discussed by Szegedy-Maszak, "True Illusions" (note 11), 128, fig. 1.
35. Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Athens: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2004), 49.
36. For more or less the same view by Constantin, taken about 1860, see Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus* (note 19), 311, fig. 5.23.
37. For a history of the Athens Archaeological Society, see Basileios Petrakos, *He en Athēnais Archaiologikē Hetaireia, he historia tōn 150 chronōn tēs (1837–1987)* (Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 1987).
38. Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis* (note 32), 299. For the construction of the tower, see Llewellyn Smith, *Athens* (note 35), 55.
39. For the 1882–1890 Acropolis excavations, which generated even more soil that was dumped over the citadel walls, see Panayiotis Kavvadias and Georg Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis, vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890* (Athens: Typographeio Hestias, 1906); Jens Andreas Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Akropolis, 1882–1890* (Copenhagen: Institute of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Univ. of Copenhagen, 1974); and Hurwit, *Athenian Acropolis* (note 32), 299.
40. The same west side of the Parthenon, though either front, on or from the southwest, was the preferred angle of Ciriaco d'Ancona, Jacob Spon, and Richard Dalton (see figs. 4–6).
41. We have seen this juxtaposition of men—a lone figure in traditional Greek costume, outnumbered by men wearing contemporary western dress—in another Moraites photograph (fig. 13).
42. For the Temple of Olympian Zeus, see Renate Tölle-Kastenbein, *Das Olympieion in Athen* (Cologne and Vienna: Weimer, Böhlau, 1994). The best drawings of the Arch of Hadrian remain those done in the eighteenth century by Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens* (note 17). For the stadium, see, among others, Carlo Gasparri, "Lo stadio Panatenaico," *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 52–53, n.s. 36–37 (1974–1975): 313–92.
43. For the inscription, see George Dontas, "The True Aglaurion," *Hesperia* 52 (1983): 48–63. For the early twentieth-century excavations of the cave, see Oscar Broneer, "The Cave on the East Slope of the Acropolis, I: The Site," *Hesperia* 5 (1936): 247–53.
44. The traditional view, which can no longer be maintained, is set out in John Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2001).
45. The arguments relocating the Archaic Agora to its rightful place and the identification of the original Kerameikos (Potters' Quarter), together with the settlement on the Acropolis, are set out in Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus* (note 19), 271–316.
46. For a contemporary engraving by Beulé showing the partially hidden Temple of Athena Nike, see Haris Yiakoumis, *The Acropolis of Athens: Photographs, 1839–1959* (Athens: Potamos, 2000), 69. For slightly earlier views by Alfred-Nicolas Normand, dating to 1851, see Georges Daux, "L'Athènes antique en 1851: Photographies d'Alfred-Nicolas Normand," *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 80 (1956): 619–24, esp. pls. XI, XII, XVI, XVII. See also the detail in Haris Yiakoumis, *La Grèce: Voyage Photographique et Littéraire au XIX^e siècle* (Athens: Bastas-Plessas, 1997), 194.
47. Pikionis's architectural contributions to Athens are among the most significant and enduring of the twentieth century. For his work around the Acropolis in the 1950s, see esp. Dimitris Pikionis, *Diamorphōsē tou peri tēn Akropolē archaiologikou chōrou, 1954–1957* (Athens: Bastas-Plessas, 1994).
48. For the Propylaia, see Jens Andreas Bundgaard, *Mnesicles: A Greek Architect at Work* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1957). For more recent bibliography on the Propylaia, see Harrison Eiteljörg II, *The Entrance to the Athenian Acropolis before Mnesicles* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt, 1995).
49. See Ione Mylonas Shear, "The Western Approach to the Athenian Akropolis," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 119 (1999): 86–127.
50. Ibid. For the Nike bastion and an overview of past literature and an account of recent work, see Ira S. Mark, *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Archaeological Institute of America, 1993).
51. Herodotos 8.52–53. For useful commentary, see esp. Noel Robertson, "The City Center of Archaic Athens," *Hesperia* 67 (1998): 284.
52. Ibid.: 284, note 12.
53. See various papers in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986); Brian L.

Molyneaux, ed., *The Cultural Life of Images: Visual Representation in Archaeology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Claire L. Lyons and John K. Papadopoulos, eds., *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002); and Grant Parker, "Narrating Monumentality: The Piazza Navona Obelisk," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 16 (2003): 193–215. As Susan Sontag once stated, "Photographs really are experience captured. . . . A photograph—any photograph—seems to have a more innocent, and therefore more accurate, relation to visible reality than do other mimetic objects." (Susan Sontag, *On Photography* [London: Penguin, 2002] 3, 6.)

54. Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in Appadurai, ed., *Social Life of Things* (note 53), 64–91, esp. 89.
55. Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1983), 47–48.
56. James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1996).
57. Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1997), 187. See also idem, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974).
58. Evelyn B. Harrison, "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I, The Cult Statues; Part II, The Base; Part III, Iconography and Style," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977): 137–78, 267–87, 411–26, esp. 139, with note 14.
59. For example, ibid; and John K. Papadopoulos and Evelyn L. Smithson, "The Cultural Biography of a Cycladic Geometric Amphora: Islanders in Athens and the Prehistory of Metics," *Hesperia* 71 (2002): 149–99, esp. 149.
60. See esp. Semni Papaspyridi-Karusu, "Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion," *Athenische Mitteilungen* 69–70 (1954–1955): 67–94; and Harrison, "Alkamenes' Sculptures" (note 58).
61. See William Bell Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion. Hesperia*, suppl. no. 5 (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, 1941): 105–10.
62. This argument was first made by Frederick A. Cooper, "Three Years in Athens: A New Look at Old Buildings" (lecture, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, March 27, 1985). For how other blocks made their way from Sounion to Athens, see Angelike Kokkou, "To kionokranon tou naou tēs Souniadōs Athēnas E.M. 4478 kai e Syllogē tou Kantakouzēnou," *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1974, 102–12.
63. See Papadopoulos and Smithson, "Cultural Biography" (note 59): 152–57.
64. The definitive study of the Theseion remains Herbert Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955).
65. Le Roy, *Ruins* (note 15), 265.
66. See Koch, *Theseustempel* (note 64), 161, fig. 2, and 163, figs. 7, 8; and Bastéa, *Creation of Modern Athens* (note 32), 6–7, fig. 1.
67. Llewellyn Smith, *Athens* (note 35), 130.
68. Ibid., 48–50, 130–31.
69. For the Theseion as the Central Archaeological Museum, 1834–1874, see Semni Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture* (Athens: General Direction of Antiquities and Restoration, 1968), ix–xi.
70. See Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Ancient Heritage* (note 32), 314, and 115, fig. 145. See also Panayiotis Kavvadias, *Glypta tou Ethnikou Mouseiou* (Athens: S. K. Vlastou, 1890–1892), 12–15; Kokkou, "To kionokranon" (note 62), 104, note 2; and Georg Karo, "Archäologische Funde vom Juli 1933 bis Juli 1934," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1934, cols. 123–254, esp. 146, for the "Sammlung im Theseion."
71. Colin Renfrew, "Foreword," in John Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 7.
72. For details on the negotiations, land prices, and ramifications, see John K. Papadopoulos, "Faceless Archaeology: Two Early Photographs of the Staff of the Athenian Agora in the 1930s," *Hesperia* 70 (2001): 163–68.
73. T. Leslie Shear, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: The Campaign of 1940," *Hesperia* 10 (1941): 1; and Lucy Shoe Meritt, *History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1939–1980* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, 1984), 175.
74. T. Leslie Shear, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: The Campaign of 1939," *Hesperia* 9 (1940): 261–307, esp. 262.
75. Ironically, the houses visible in figure 25 were systematically cleared to make way for the American excavation of the Athenian Agora and an archaeological park, whereas the greenery that once thrived to the west and north of the Theseion visible in figure 20 was cleared to make way for housing and industrial establishments. It should also be noted that the Agora area was full of houses, including some splendid examples of Neoclassical architecture.
76. Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion* (note 61), 6–30, esp. 15.
77. Ibid., 16–17, 30. For the Greek War of Independence, see David Brewer, *The Flame of Freedom: The Greek War of Independence, 1821–1833* (London: John Murray, 2001).
78. A similar photograph is reproduced in Yiakoumis, *Acropolis of Athens* (note 46), 64–65. The panorama also appears in Antonatos and Mauzy, *Early Photographic Panoramas* (note 27), 22–23. For more on Bonfils and contemporary Athens, see Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "The Genius of Félix Bonfils: Rare Images of the Monuments of Ancient Athens by a Nineteenth-Century Virtuoso," *Archaeology* 54 (May–June 2001): 50–51; and Yannis Hamilakis, "Monumental Visions: Bonfils, Classical Antiquity, and Nineteenth-Century Athenian Society," *History of Photography* 25 (2001): 5–12, 23–43.
79. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 61.
80 C. Norberg-Schultz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1979), 25.
81. Hellmut Sichtermann, "Mythology and Landscape," in *Essays in Memory of Karl Kerényi. Journal of Indo-European Studies* (monograph series) 4 (1984), 49–65, esp. 61. The human connection with ancient monuments is a theme well exploited by a number of photographers of Greek monuments, particularly Edward Steichen (1879–1973) and Nelly's (her spelling) (1899–1998), the former using Isadora Duncan and her daughter Thérèse, the latter the dancers Mona Paiva and Nikolska. See Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (New York: Abbeville, 2000), 146; and Yiakoumis, *Acropolis of Athens* (note 46), esp. 46–53, 158–61.
82. The list of modern photographers of ancient Greek monuments is too long even to provide a cursory glimpse here. In addition to Steichen and Nelly's, the names that stand out are Alison Frantz (1903–1995), for whom see Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "Portrait of a Purist," *Archaeology* 48 (1995), 58–64, and Amy Papalexandrou and Marie Mauzy, "The Photographs of Alison Frantz: Revealing Antiquity through the Lens," *History of Photography* 27 (2003): 130–43; Walter Hege (1893–1955), for whom see Fritz Kestel, "Walter Hege (1893–1955): 'Race Art Photographer' and/or 'Master of Photography'?" *Visual Resources* 7 (1990); 185–207; and Max Hirmer, for whom see, for example, Mary Bergstein, "Lonely Aphrodites: On the Documentary Photography of Sculpture," *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 475–98, esp. 484. For a useful overview of Greek photography, see Alkis Xanthakis, *History of Greek Photography, 1839–1960* (Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives Society, 1988).

An American on the Acropolis: William James Stillman

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1. Charles Eliot Norton, ed., *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1905), 1: 98–99. In his magisterial two-volume biography of Ruskin, Tim Hilton cites the last sentence from the quoted passage and adds, "He perhaps meant that Stillman was not noble at all." The earlier part of the passage makes it clear that Ruskin's praise was genuine. Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin: The Later Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2000), 15.
2. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations followed by a page number are from William James Stillman, *Autobiography of a Journalist* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1901). Although the book was published in two volumes, its pagination is sequential, and so there is no need to provide the volume number.
3. Earlier in the *Autobiography*, he voices the same sentiment: "I lived in an atmosphere and trust in God which impressed me so that to this day the habit of thought and conduct so formed is invincible, and in all the subsequent modifications of the primitive and Hebraic conception of the spiritual life which [my mother] inoculated me with, an unconscious aspiration in prayer and an absolute and organic trust in the protection of the divine Providence persist in my character, though reason has long assured me that this is but a crude and personal conception of the divine law. Truly from the environment of our early religious education we can never escape" (15).
4. A typical example, one of many: "My money was running to an end, but this was a matter in which my faith in Providence did not allow me to borrow trouble, and I made it a rule never to run into debt" (173–74).
5. "Of the actuality of a disembodied and individual being which, for want of more intelligence of its nature, we call a 'spirit,' I have no more doubt than I have of my own embodied and individual existence. . . . Two conclusions I draw from my investigations as immovably established, so far as I am concerned. The first is that there are about us, and with certain facilities for making themselves understood by us, spiritual individualities; and, second, that the human being possesses spiritual senses, parallel with the physical, by which it sees what the physical sense cannot see, and hears what is inaudible to the physical ear" (196, 197).
6. Nott had a long-standing friendship with the Stillman family, having provided assistance and support to two of William's older brothers, Charles and Jacob (16–17).
7. "Of my college course, I retained only what held my sympathies. I never went in for honors, or occupied myself beyond the required measure with studies which did not *per se* interest me. Greek and Latin, but especially physics, the humanities, and literature enlisted all my ambitions" (108).
8. Stillman has the name slightly wrong, calling him "Griffiths"; it was at his home that Ruskin had first met Turner. See Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin: The Early Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1985), 55–56.
9. See John H. Komlos, *Louis Kossuth in America, 1851–1852* (Buffalo, NY: Eastern European Institute, 1973).
10. Stillman's first account of the same episode, in an early issue of the *Crayon*, omits any mention of his spying mission; he notes only that he was detained in the city by illness. William James Stillman, "An Artist's Adventure on the Danube," *Crayon* 1, no. 4 (February 1855): 52–53.
11. It is precisely such subjects Stillman concentrates on in his volume of photographs *Poetic Localities of Cambridge* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1874.)
12. One painting from this period, *Saranac Lake, Adirondack Mountains*, was acquired by Charles Eliot Norton and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Meticulously detailed, it shows trees framing the lake with the mountains in the far background. For a discussion and reproduction of this work, see Linda S. Ferber and William H. Gerdts, *The New Path: Ruskin and the American Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat. (New York: Brooklyn Museum and Schocken Books, 1985), 277–78. See also Linda S. Ferber, "The Clearest Lens: William J. Stillman and American Landscape Painting," in Anne Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities: Photographs of Adirondacks, Cambridge, Crete, Italy, Athens—William James Stillman* (New York: Aperture in association with the International Center of Photography, 1988), 91–102, esp. 96 on *Saranac Lake* (with a small reproduction on 90).
13. "*The Crayon* familiarized Americans with Ruskin's writings through extensive quotation and reprinting of large excerpts from his works. . . . The Ruskinism of *The Crayon* was not limited to citation from the master's works, however. The journal was filled with his ideas, his confusions, his approaches to problems, and his solutions of them." Roger B. Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), 111. Stein devotes an entire chapter to "Ruskinism in America: *The Crayon* (1855–1861)," 101–23.
14. Among those who appeared in the pages of the *Crayon* were the poets William Cullen Bryant, James Russell Lowell, Bayard Taylor, and John Greenleaf Whittier; the painters Asher B. Durand and Rembrandt Peale; the sculptor Horatio Greenough; and the English Pre-Raphaelite William Michael Rossetti, who served as London correspondent.
15. William James Stillman, *Crayon* 1, no. 4 (February 1855): 50. To provide breadth of coverage, Stillman also excerpted and reprinted articles from other journals, including the *Athenaeum*, the *Musical Gazette*, and the *London Art Journal*.
16. "With the prevailing focus on the linking of man, art, and nature with God, *The Crayon*'s tone often approached religious. Editorial essays preached in a sermonlike manner." Marion Grzesiak, "*The Crayon* and the American Landscape," in Marion Grzesiak, ed., The Crayon *and the American Landscape*, exh. cat. (Montclair, NJ: Montclair Art Museum, 1993), 11.
17. At the end of six months, Stillman wrote: "With this number we close our first volume. We desire to return our most sincere thanks to the public for a reception, which has more than fulfilled our highest hopes, and to the press particularly for a cordial encouragement which has been of material assistance to us." *Crayon* 1, no. 26 (June 27, 1855): 410. At this time, the editors began publishing praise bestowed by newspapers and other periodicals, presumably to encourage potential advertisers and subscribers.
18. The most intractable problem was financial. Even though the *Crayon* had a good-sized and growing subscription base, its editors had no experience at wooing and keeping commercial advertisers. Stillman writes that many businesses, particularly book publishers, took advantage of their naiveté (*Autobiography*, 229–30).

19. For an assessment of the journal's influence, see Allan Wallach, "Formulating a High Art Aesthetic," and Marion Grzesiak, "*The Crayon* and the American Landscape," in Grzesiak, ed., The Crayon *and the American Landscape* (note 16); and William H. Gerdts, "Through a Glass Brightly," in Ferber and Gerdts, *The New Path* (note 12), 39–77, esp. 55–56, 61.
20. William James Stillman, letter to *New York Evening Post*, November 7, 1894.
21. After their first visit together, Lowell wrote to Stillman on December 7, 1854: "I am glad you had a pleasant day here. I had, and you made me fifteen years younger while you stayed. When a man gets to my age [Lowell was thirty-five at the time] enthusiasms don't often knock at the door of his garret. I am all the more charmed with them when they come. A youth full of such pure intensity of hope and faith and purpose—what is he but the breath of a resurrection trumpet to us stiffened old fellows." Norton, ed., *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (note 1), 1: 218.
22. "If we have any ground in America made classic, it is Cambridge. To say nothing of the historical associations, from its having been the head-quarters of the first American army, here live the poets Dana, Longfellow and Lowell." *Crayon* 1, no. 23 (December 5, 1855): 362. "Dana" is Richard Henry Dana, best known for his autobiographical *Two Years before the Mast*.
23. In addition to the narrative in his autobiography, Stillman wrote two essays about the outing, "The Subjective of It" and "The Philosophers' Camp," both reprinted in William James Stillman, *The Old Rome and the New* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1898), 232–64 and 265–96, respectively. He also made a well-known 1858 painting of the Philosophers' Camp that is now in the Concord Free Library. It shows Emerson pondering alone in the center of a clearing, with small groups of men on either side of him. For a reproduction and brief commentary, see http://www.concordnet.org/library/scollect/Emerson_Celebration/Em_Con_80.html. Stillman discusses the painting in his autobiography (280–81), describing it as a sketch for a more polished version that he never produced.
24. The poem is fairly pedestrian. Its general tone can be heard in the lines: "Ten scholars, wonted to lie warm and soft / In well-hung chambers daintily bestowed, / Lie here on hemlock-boughs, like Sacs and Sioux, / And greet unanimous the joyful change. / So fast will Nature acclimate her sons, / Though late returning to her pristine ways."
25. For the influence of Emerson's Transcendentalism on Stillman, see Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 10–11.
26. So, for example, from an article called "Photography": "The apprehensions once entertained that this art would, to a certain extent, thrust the artist and his vocation aside, are now no longer indulged; but, on the contrary, it is seen that Photography, so far from being a rival, is in truth a most important auxiliary to the resources of the artist." *Crayon* 1, no. 10 (March 14, 1855): 170.
27. For reproductions of some of the images in this book, see Anne Ehrenkranz, catalogue entries, in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), plates 1–9 and pp. 116–18.
28. *Atlantic* 5, no. 27 (January 1860): 109. The art historian Linda S. Ferber is similarly more positive about the Adirondack photographs than I am: "Stillman's nature studies of that summer of 1859, both painted and photographic, were to prove the culmination of his American landscape career." Linda S. Ferber, "'The Clearest Lens,': William James Stillman and American Landscape Painting," in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 101.
29. See note 11.
30. The first substantive study of the Stillman-Ruskin relationship is Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock, "Stillman, Ruskin, and Rossetti: The Struggle between Nature and Art," *History of Photography* 3, no. 1 (1979): 1–14.
31. See note 1.
32. As he describes it in his autobiography: "I felt something snap behind my eyes, and in a few minutes I could no longer see my drawing; the slightest attempt to fix my vision on anything caused such indistinctness that I could see neither my work nor the landscape, and I was obliged to suspend work altogether" (319).
33. Stillman had wanted to serve in Venice, but William Dean Howells, who had not yet made his mark as a writer, got the consular post there.
34. Nearly four decades later, he published a scholarly study of the diplomatic and military history of the entire movement. See William James Stillman, *The Union of Italy, 1815–1895* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1899).
35. In a June 1864 letter to William Michael Rossetti, Stillman wrote, "In fact intercourse is almost suspended between me and the Government. . . . Things are in a state here which would disgrace Timbuctoo. . . . I have asked to be transferred to another consulate and, if not, I shall resign this winter." William Michael Rossetti, *Rossetti Papers, 1862–1870* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), 52.
36. See Anne Ehrenkranz, "William James Stillman: Painter, Critic, Photographer," in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 21.
37. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters IV*, in E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, and New York: Longmans Green, 1904), 6: 10.
38. There is also a touching picture of Stillman's two children. For reproductions, see Ehrenkranz, catalogue entries, in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 38–45, with discussion on 118–19.
39. He also takes for granted both equal interest and equal expertise on the part of his readers, so that today many references are unclear if not totally opaque. I find that my assessment was voiced by a contemporary reviewer: "At points where the situation was most complicated he has a way of thinking underground and modestly assuming that his readers know quite as much as he does about Turko-Russian wars and politics." John White Chadwick, "Stillman: *The Autobiography of a Journalist*," *American Historical Review* 7, no. 1 (1901): 72. Stillman published numerous essays under the title "Cretan Days" in successive issues of the *Atlantic Monthly* during 1868. These were collected in William James Stillman, *The Cretan Insurrection of 1866–68* (New York: Henry Holt, 1874), now available, with a new introduction and notes, in George Georgiades Arnakis, ed., *American Consul in a Cretan War: William J. Stillman* (Austin, TX: Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, 1966).
40. These events are discussed more cursorily in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "True Illusions: Early Photographs of Athens," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 125–38, esp. 133ff.
41. As Anne Ehrenkranz observes, this is the only one of Stillman's photographic projects that he discusses in any detail, thereby underscoring its importance. Ehrenkranz, "Stillman," in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 22.
42. Rossetti, *Rossetti Papers, 1862–1870* (note 35), 419. Rossetti dedicated this volume to Stillman's second wife, Marie, "and to the cherished memory of her husband."
43. Frederick Startridge Ellis began his career as a bookseller and then moved into publishing. He was especially close to the Pre-Raphaelites and produced books by, among others, William Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Ruskin. *Autotype* is another term for carbon print, a form of photographic

reproduction that uses pigment rather than photosensitive emulsion and so is much less liable to fade over time. The process was invented in the 1850s but had become commercially applicable only in the mid-1860s. See Gordon Baldwin, *Looking at Photographs: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1991), 19–20. By opting for autotype rather than the more widely used albumen print, Stillman was choosing the most up-to-date technology.

44. In an essay on Stillman, Colin Eisler writes of these two terms: "This description is contradictory. The traditional conception of the picturesque, characterized by a carefully controlled vista, often with a certain narrative, moral, or anecdotal element, is intrinsically opposed to the architectural. . . . To 'illustrate architecturally' is quite another issue, for this requires seeing for oneself how space works, where and how its elements are disposed." Colin Eisler, "Stillman: Apostle of Art," in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 104–15; the quoted passage is on 112–13. I hope to show that Stillman successfully resolved the contradiction Eisler outlines.
45. The history of the development of Ruskin's ideas is, to put it mildly, convoluted, and I make no pretense of understanding all its subtleties. I have found most useful the discussion by Robert Hewison, *John Ruskin: The Argument of the Eye* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), on the picturesque, esp. 30–53.
46. He begins his discussion of the picturesque in this volume by admitting, "Probably no word in the language (exclusive of theological expression) has been the subject of so frequent or so prolonged dispute." John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, in Cook and Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin* (note 37), 8: 235; the passage quoted here is on 237.
47. Ibid., 241.
48. The exemplary discussion appears in a chapter of *Modern Painters IV* entitled "Of the Turnerian Picturesque," in Cook and Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin* (note 37), 6: 9–26. His assessment of the lower form: "[I]n a certain sense, the lower picturesque ideal is eminently a *heartless* one; the lover of it seems to go forth into the world in a temper as merciless as its rocks. All other men feel some regret at the sight of disorder and ruin. He alone delights in both" (19).
49. The J. Paul Getty Museum owns a presentation copy of *The Acropolis of Athens*, inscribed and signed by Stillman, in which he emends by hand the phrase "with one exception" to read "with four exceptions."
50. For Dallmeyer's lens, see Rudolf Kingslake, *A History of the Photographic Lens* (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1989), 8, 59. For Stillman as an early adopter of advanced technology, see note 43. In 1874 Stillman published a technical manual, *Amateur's Photographic Guidebook* (London: C. D. Smith, 1874), in which he discussed a camera he had invented for architectural work; see Lindquist-Cock, "Stillman, Ruskin, and Rossetti" (note 30): 9–10.
51. Ehrenkranz, "Stillman," in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 22.
52. The most thorough recent study of the Acropolis and its monuments is Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999).
53. This convention is discussed, with some examples, in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "Félix Bonfils and the Traveller's Trail through Athens," *History of Photography* 25.1 (2001): 16–17.
54. Szegedy-Maszak, "True Illusions" (note 40): 135.
55. Ruskin, "Of the Turnerian Picturesque," in Cook and Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin* (note 37), 6: 13.
56. Christopher Wordsworth, *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical*, 3rd edn. rev. (London: William S. Orr, 1880), 137. The first edition appeared in 1839 and immediately became a standard English-language guidebook to Greece. There is no need to compile references to the Greek War of Independence, which galvanized foreign philhellenes in the 1820s and figures in virtually every later nineteenth-century travel narrative. For the motif of Greece as the symbol of liberty, see David Roessel, *In Byron's Shadow: Modern Greece in the English and American Imagination* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), 23–26.
57. Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869; repr. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984), 274 (chap. 32). It is very possible that Stillman and Twain were in Athens at the same time, but the chronology of their respective accounts is not precise enough to allow a definite conclusion.
58. Félix Bonfils makes the shed the central element in one of his pictures of the theater. See Szegedy-Maszak, "True Illusions" (note 40): 132 and idem, "Félix Bonfils" (note 53): 29. The earth piles are prominent in 1860s views of the Acropolis from the southwest made by the Athenian photographers Dimitrios Constantin (also known as Konstantinou) and Petros Moraites. See Haris Yiakoumis, *The Acropolis of Athens: Photographs, 1839–1959* (Athens: Potamos, 2000), 66–67, 73, 75. See also Papadopoulos in this volume, p. 120.
59. The windmill as a motif also has distinct connections to Ruskin, who compares paintings of windmills by Clarkson Stansfield and J. M. W. Turner to illustrate the difference between, respectively, the lower and the noble picturesque. Ruskin, "Of the Turnerian Picturesque," in Cook and Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin* (note 37), 6: 16–18.
60. One can find similar signatures or initials on at least seven other plates: 1, 7, 8, 15, 22, 24, and 25.
61. Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (note 57), 269 (chap 32).
62. J. F. Young, *Five Weeks in Greece* (London: Sampson, Low, 1876), 61.
63. One striking feature these pictures reveal is how small Athens was at the time. Even though it was the capital of Greece, its population numbered barely forty-five thousand. It was still more an overgrown village than a true city, even though its population had increased tenfold since 1830. I owe these figures, which are an incidental feature of an illuminating discussion of Athens's development, to Yannis Hamilakis, "Monumental Visions: Bonfils, Classical Antiquity, and Nineteenth-Century Athenian Society," *History of Photography* 25, no. 1 (2001): 5–12.
64. R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), 12–27; see also Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (note 52), 192–97.
65. J. P. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1876), 78. It may be ironic to quote Mahaffy's book, to which Stillman gave a scathing review. For example: "There are two frequently-recurring qualities in these 'Rambles and Studies' which call for severe criticism—inaccuracy of observation which makes the author's indications utterly valueless, and want of common courtesy towards the hospitable country people." ("Recent Travels in Greece," *Nation* 24, no. 616 [April 19, 1877]: 238.) The Stillman-Mahaffy relationship, if it can be called that, grew odd. Seven years later, in a letter to the *Nation* about Heinrich Schliemann, whom Mahaffy had praised, Stillman avers, "Mr. Mahaffy is a Hellenist better known in England than in America, and better known, where known, for his curious blunders as to classical matters than for his insight or sound critical faculty." Stillman continues, paradoxically, "I never saw Professor Jebb or Mr. Mahaffy, nor have I ever had a controversy with either." ("The War of the Hellenists," *Nation* 38, no. 982 [April 24, 1884]: 362.) It is not surprising that Stillman wrote that he never had a controversy with R. C. Jebb, one of the great Victorian classical scholars, for he and Jebb were allies against Mahaffy and Schliemann. A few days before Stillman's letter was published,

Jebb wrote to him, "Mahaffy is a perfectly unscrupulous man, & very like Schliemann himself, only less illiterate" (April 14, 1884, Union College Library Archive, no. 173). Mahaffy begins a later postcard to Stillman, "My dear sir, any recom[mendation] from you commands my every attention" and concludes by offering warm regards to Stillman's second wife and expressions of gratitude for her hospitality (May 13, 1893, Union College Library Archive, no. 205).

66. Szegedy-Maszak, "Félix Bonfils" (note 53): 18 and note 52.
67. Examples are so common that they scarcely need annotation. See Yiakoumis, *The Acropolis of Athens* (note 58), 127–35; and *Athens, 1839–1900: A Photographic Record* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1985), figs. 1, 35, 297, 300. The preferential treatment of the west facade is discussed in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "'Well-Recorded Worth': Photographs of the Parthenon," in Jenifer Neils, ed., *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005).
68. See, for example, Plates 13, 15, 17, and 20.
69. On foreign philhellenes, see Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 37–46, esp. 38–39. David Roessel observes: "A good analogy for philhellenism in the first decades of the nineteenth century is the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s. . . . Embracing either the Loyalist side in Spain or the cause of liberty in Greece was as much a protest against government at home as it was sympathy for those fighting abroad." Roessel, *In Byron's Shadow* (note 56), 30, and more generally, 28–38 on the ideology and literature of philhellenism.
70. Mark Twain in the dome of Saint Peter's Basilica: "There was room there for a dozen persons, with a little crowding, and it was close and hot as an oven. Some of those people who are so fond of writing their names in prominent places had been there before us—a million or two, I should think." Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (note 57), 216 (chap. 26).
71. These signatures are also present in another view of the same portico Stillman made on his return visit to Athens in 1882. See fig. 20 of the present essay.
72. In her note to Plate 11, Anne Ehrenkranz observes: "Stillman does not customarily place figures in his architectural photographs as did many mid-nineteenth-century photographers, traveling in exotic lands, to give scale and add interest to frames filled with stone and sand." Ehrenkranz, catalogue entries, in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 120.
73. William James Stillman, "Crete," *Nation* 4, no. 94 (April 18, 1867): 318–19.
74. William James Stillman, "Turkey and Greece," *Nation* 7, no. 175 (November 5, 1868): 366.
75. This convention is discussed in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "Roman Views," in *Six Exposures: Essays in Celebration of the Opening of the Harrison D. Horblit Collection of Early Photography* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1999), esp. 94–98. I refer there to the seminal essay, Roland Barthes, "The Eiffel Tower," in *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 3–17.
76. For the identification of Stillman, see Richard Tomlinson, *The Athens of Alma-Tadema* (Wolfeboro Falls, NH: Alan Sutton, 1991), 82–83. This book is a valuable resource both for illustrations of other views Stillman made and for Tomlinson's incisive and erudite commentary. See also idem, "The Acropolis of Athens in the 1870s: The Evidence of the Alma-Tadema Photographs," *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 82 (1987): 297–304 and plates 46–50.
77. My interpretation here has to be qualified by the fact that not all the published copies of *The Acropolis of Athens* have an identical image at this point. As Anne Ehrenkranz observes, "There are variants of this image, both in carbon and in albumen, where the figure is sitting or is absent." Ehrenkranz, catalogue entries, in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 121. For example, the copy in the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, contains a view made from exactly the same vantage point, but there is no figure in it.
78. "[S]uch 'refinements' have passed into our popular mythology of the monument, which is commonly said to be a building 'without any straight lines.'" Mary Beard, *The Parthenon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003), 106. On the north and south sides of the temple, the center of the platform stands some eleven centimeters higher than the ends; on the west and east, some six centimeters. The reasons for the deviation from absolute flatness include both the practical (to let rain run off) and the aesthetic (to give the structure a sense of visual stability). For details about the construction of the Parthenon, see Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (note 64), 105–26, esp. 110–11; and Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (note 52), 166–68.
79. Its full title is *An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture; or, The Results of a Survey Conducted Chiefly with Reference to the Optical Refinements Exhibited in the Construction of the Ancient Buildings at Athens* (London: Macmillan, 1851). Stillman and Penrose later exchanged correspondence on archaeological matters.
80. Tomlinson, *The Athens of Alma-Tadema* (note 76), 39. Despite being ill, Stillman's son, Russie, accompanied him during his photographic campaign on the Acropolis. Tomlinson reproduces a variant of this plate that shows Russie sitting next to the temple; see Plate 30 and pp. 34–35, 38–39.
81. G. F. Bowen, *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (London: John Murray, 1854), v.
82. See Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 264–65. For a definition of *panchromatic*, see Baldwin, *Looking at Photographs* (note 43), 62–63.
83. A review of an 1855 photographic exhibition in London, first published in *Athenaeum* and reprinted by Stillman in the *Crayon*, notes: "In skies Mr. Sherlock has made some fresh conquests, arresting the most fleeting vapors. With such lessons for the landscape artist, no such mistake of cloud regions as Mr. Ruskin points out in living painting will henceforth be tolerated." (*Crayon* 1, no. 8 [February 21, 1855]: 120.) The following year, the great French photographer Gustave Le Gray created a sensation in London with an exhibition of seascapes that featured spectacular cloud formations. For more on Le Gray's technique of combination printing, see Eugenia Janis, *The Photography of Gustave Le Gray* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987), 73ff.
84. On Robinson and Cherrill, who had formed a business partnership in 1868, see Mark Haworth-Booth, *The Golden Age of British Photography, 1839–1900* (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1984), 95.
85. W. J. Stillman, "A Photographic Exhibition," *Nation* 14, no. 346 (February 15, 1872): 104.
86. I owe the formulation to Anne Ehrenkranz, who writes, "In this particularly dramatic image, the Parthenon appears as the source of light itself." Ehrenkranz, catalogue entries, in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 121.
87. On the Erechtheion, see Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (note 64), 143–54, and Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (note 52), 200–209.
88. The German-born photographer Giorgio Sommer, who established a successful photographic studio in Naples in 1857, produced an extensive and widely distributed series of such tableaux. See Marina Miraglia, Pino Piantanida,

Ulrich Pohlmann, and Dietmar Siegert, *Giorgio Sommer in Italien: Fotografien, 1857–1888* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1992), 101–17.

89. I have no way to prove it, but my strong belief is that the Greeks' relatively recent victory over their Ottoman occupiers earned them immunity from this kind of scurrilous portrayal.

90. Anne Ehrenkranz is more enthusiastic than I about this image: "In formal structure and detail this is one of the richest of the Acropolis prints." Ehrenkranz, catalogue entries, in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 121. Félix Bonfils, among others, made a photograph from almost precisely the same point of view (ca. 1870); see Szegedy-Maszak, "True Illusions" (note 40): 131–32 and fig. 8 (p. 133), and idem, "Félix Bonfils" (note 53): fig. 8 (p. 26). See also Yiakoumis, *The Acropolis of Athens* (note 58) for very similar views by Philippos Margaritis, 1855 (p. 171) and Pascal Sébah, 1874 (p. 169).

91. See Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (note 64), 152.

92. Hermann Hettner, *Athens and the Peloponnese* (English trans., Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1854), 107.

93. Among the better-known photographers were: James Robertson (1850–1855), Francis Frith (about 1860), Francis Bedford (1862), and Dimitrios Constantin (about 1865) in *Athens, 1839–1900* (note 67), nos. 38, 62, 304, 305; and Félix Bonfils (about 1870), in Szegedy-Maszak, "Félix Bonfils" (note 53), fig. 9 (p. 27). Of the maidens, Hurwit writes: "[T]hey face south, toward the Parthenon, and in profile view they look like fully three-dimensional versions of the offering-bearing maidens of the Parthenon's east frieze." Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (note 52), 206.

94. The felicitous phrase is from Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (note 52), 213.

95. The slab is North XXIX, figs. 89–90. See Martin Robertson and Alison Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), n.p.

96. Bonfils made two photographs of the surviving parts of the frieze, one of them of this same slab, that show more of the area around them. See Szegedy-Maszak, "Félix Bonfils" (note 53): 18 and figs. 4, 5.

97. Bowen, *Murray's Handbook* (note 81), 167. I will not go into the old, heated (and reheated) debate about what event the frieze represents. The clearest and most comprehensive recent discussion is Jenifer Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), esp. 173–203.

98. For the development of the discipline in the United States, see Stephen L. Dyson, *Ancient Marbles to American Shores* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); on Stillman, 61–64.

99. This phenomenon is discussed in its Roman context in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "A Perfect Ruin: Nineteenth-Century Views of the Colosseum," *Arion* ser. 3, vol. 2, no. 1 (1992): 128–31.

100. On Marie Spartali, see Lindquist-Cock, "Stillman, Ruskin, and Rossetti" (note 30): 11ff.

101. Breaking from his customary dispassionate tone, Stillman gives a heartbreaking account of Russie's last days: "[W]hen the last long breath was drawn, and the limp, deserted body was all that was left to me of my thirteen years of passionate devotion, my pride and hope.... I walked out into the midnight and left my boy to Death. The long tension was over, and I could give way to tears" (500–504; quoted passage, 502).

102. The bibliography on Schliemann is enormous. I have found most useful the lucid account by J. Lesley Fitton, *The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1996), esp. 48–103. It is worth noting here that although Schliemann claimed full credit for the discovery of Troy, Susan Allen has recently argued that he owed much of his success to the British archaeologist Frank Calvert. See Susan Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy: Frank Calvert and Heinrich Schliemann at Hisarlik* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1999).

103. W. J. Stillman, "The Site of Troy," *Nation* 38, no. 975 (March 6, 1884): 210. See also note 65.

104. W. J. Stillman, *On the Track of Ulysses* (New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888). The text, writes Stillman, is drawn from a series commissioned by *Century* magazine. It is illustrated with woodcuts based on his own photographs, including Plate 24, the winged Nike, from *The Acropolis of Athens*.

105. For example, he was convinced that the remains at Mycenae could not date from the Bronze Age but had to be of later, perhaps Celtic, construction. He wrote to Marie from Athens, probably in 1881, "I had a very interesting trip to Mykenae & completely confirmed my former hypothesis that the discovery of Schliemann is of a comparatively modern and barbarous interment probably four or five centuries before Christ" (Union College Archive, no. 489). The Oxford scholar Henry Francis Pelham gently disagreed: "The Mycenae question is different—as you know I cannot go with you in the Celtic theory—though I confess that the position of the tombs between the outer & inner walls is a puzzle" (Union College Archive no. 254).

106. See note 11.

107. Bonfils's catalogue avers, "Our employees are constantly traveling in order to renew our negatives in accordance with every latest development in photographic art." See Szegedy-Maszak, "Félix Bonfils" (note 53): 13, 16.

108. Colin Eisler posits a form of neurosis as the motive, "a certain ritualistic, cathartic dimension to the photographic process... since so much strain and duplication went into this most peculiar reprise." Colin Eisler, "Stillman: Apostle of Art," in Ehrenkranz, ed., *Poetic Localities* (note 12), 113.

109. Adolf Michaelis to William James Stillman, November 21, 1885. W. J. Stillman Collection, Schaffer Library, Union College, no. 213.

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Note: Page numbers in *italics* indicate photographs.









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